

FAROUK I UNIVERSITY
BULLETIN
OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS.



VOL. V — 1949

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ALEXANDRIE
IMPRIMERIES "RAMSÈS"

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ALXANDRIA

UNIVERSITY OF ARTS

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BULLETIN OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS.

Volume V.

1949

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TABLEAU DE L'EGYPTE

PAR M. LE GÉNÉRAL

DE L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE

Donc la palette et les couleurs recouvrent les monuments de l'Égypte, une carte d'été et l'Égypte est l'été de la page, quelques détails sur les monuments et les monuments de l'Égypte, comme le Colosse de Memphes.

This pamphlet "Tableau d'Égypte"
is translated into Arabic and edited by
H.E. Ahmed Kamel Pacha *in the Arabic*
Section of this Bulletin pages 1 - 46.

TABLEAU DE L'EGYPTE

pendant le séjour
de l'Armée Française

Avec la position et la distance réciproque des principaux lieux de l'Egypte, un coup-d'œil sur l'économie politique de ce pays, quelques détails sur ses antiquités, et la procédure exacte de Soleyman, assassin du Général Kléber.

par A. G..... D.,

*Membre de la Commission des Sciences et Arts,
Séant du Kaire.*

TOME SECOND.

A PARIS

Chez { CERIOUX, Librairie, quai Voltaire, No. 9
GALLAND, Librairie, palais Tribunat,
galeries des bois, No. 223

Procédure de Soleyman El-Hhaleby,

Assassin du Général en Chef Kléber

Premier interrogatoire de Soleyman elHhaleby.

Aujourd'hui 25 prairial an 8 de la République française, dans la maison du général de division Damas, chef de l'état-major général, a été conduit, par un sous-officier des guides, un homme du pays, prévenu d'avoir assassiné le général en chef Kléber; lequel accusé a été reconnu par le citoyen Protain, ingénieur, qui était avec le général, lors dudit assassinat, et qui a reçu lui-même plusieurs coups de poignard; ledit accusé ayant d'ailleurs été remarqué à la suite du général depuis Gyzéh, et ayant été trouvé caché dans le jardin où s'est commis ledit assassinat, dans lequel jardin on a aussi trouvé, à la même place où il a été pris, le poignard duquel le général a été blessé, et divers haillons appartenant audit prévenu.

De suite il a été procédé à son interrogatoire par le général de division Menou, le plus ancien de grade de l'armée, commandant au Kaire; lequel interrogatoire a été fait par l'entremise du citoyen Bracewish, premier secrétaire, interprète de l'état-major, et rédigé comme il suit par le commissaire-ordonnateur Sartelon, requis à cet effet par le général Menou.

Ledit prévenu interrogé de son nom, âge, domicile et profession, a répondu s'appeler Soleyman, natif de Syrie, âgé de vingt-quatre ans, être écrivain arabe de profession et avoir été ci-devant domicilié à Hhaleb (Alep).

Interrogé combien il y a de temps qu'il est Kaire.

A répondu qu'il y est depuis cinq mois, et qu'il est venu avec une caravane dont le conducteur est le cheykh arabe Soleyman Bourygy.

Interrogé de quelle religion il est.

A répondu être de la religion musulmane, avoir demeuré déjà trois ans au Kaire, et trois autres années à la Mekke et à Médine.

Interrogé s'il connaît le grand visir, et s'il l'a vu depuis quelque temps.

Répondu qu'un arabe comme lui ne connaît point le grand visir.

Interrogé quelles sont ses connaissances au Kaire.

Répond qu'il n'en a point, mais qu'il se tient souvent près de la grande mosquée dite gamè' el-azhar; qu'il est connu de tout le monde, et que beaucoup de gens rendront compte de sa bonne conduite.

Interrogé s'il est allé ce matin à Gyzéh.

Répondu que oui, qu'il cherchait de l'emploi pour écrire, mais qu'il n'en a point trouvé.

Interrogé quelles sont les personnes pour lesquelles il a écrit le jour précédent.

Répondu qu'elles sont toutes parties.

Interrogé comment il est possible qu'il ne connaisse aucun de ceux pour lesquels il a écrit ces jours passés, et qu'ils soient tous partis.

Répond qu'il ne connaissait pas ceux pour qui il écrivait, et qu'il est impossible de se rappeler leurs noms.

Interrogé quel est le dernier pour lequel il a écrit.

Répond qu'il s'appelle Mohhammed Moghreby es-Souéys, vendeur d'eau de réglisse, mais qu'il n'a écrit pour personne à Gyzéh,

Interrogé de nouveau sur ce qu'il allait faire à Gyzéh.

Répond toujours qu'il allait pour demander à y être employé en sa qualité d'écrivain.

Interrogé comment il a été pris dans le jardin du général en chef.

Répond qu'il n'a pas été pris dans le jardin, mais sur le grand chemin.

A lui représenté qu'il ne dit pas la vérité, puisque les guides du général l'ont pris dans son jardin où il était caché, et ont même trouvé un poignard qui lui a été exhibé.

Répond qu'il est vrai qu'il était dans le jardin, mais qu'il n'y était pas caché; qu'il s'y était assis, parce que des cavaliers gardaient toutes les avenues, et qu'il ne pouvait pas aller au Kaire; qu'il n'avait point de poignard, et qu'il ignore s'il y en avait dans le jardin.

Interrogé pourquoi il a suivi depuis le matin le général en chef.

Répond que c'était pour le plaisir de le voir.

Interrogé s'il reconnaît une lisière de drap vert qui semble faire partie d'une semblable qu'il a sur lui, et qui a été trouvée dans le jardin à l'endroit où le général en chef a été assassiné.

Répond que cela ne lui appartient point.

Interrogé s'il a parlé à quelqu'un à Gyzéh, et où est-ce qu'il a couché.

Répond qu'il n'a parlé à personne, que pour acheter divers objets, et qu'il a couché à Gyzéh dans une mosquée.

A lui représenté que les blessures qu'il a à la tête prouvent que c'est lui qui a assassiné le général, puisque le citoyen Protain qui était avec lui, et qui le reconnaît, lui a donné des coups de bâton qui l'ont blessé.

Répond qu'il n'a été blessé que lorsqu'il a été pris.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas parlé ce matin à Housseyn Kachef et à ses Mamlouks.

Répond qu'il ne les a pas vus, et qu'il ne leur a pas parlé.

L'accusé persistant dans ses dénégations le général a ordonné qu'il reçut la bastonnade, suivant l'usage du pays; elle lui a été infligée de suite, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait déclaré qu'il était prêt à dire la vérité. Il a été délié et interrogé de nouveau de la manière qui suit:

Interrogé depuis quand il est au Kaire.

Répond qu'il y est depuis trente-un jours, et qu'il est venu de Gaza en six journées sur un dromadaire.

Interrogé pourquoi il est venu.

Répond qu'il est venu pour assassiner le général en chef.

Interrogé par qui il a été envoyé pour commettre ledit assassinat.

Répond qu'il a été envoyé par l'agha des janissaires; qu'au retour de l'Egypte les troupes musulmanes ont demandé à Alep quelqu'un qui pût assassiner le général en chef de l'armée française; qu'on a promis de l'argent et des grades militaires, et qu'il s'est présenté pour cet objet.

Interrogé quelles sont les personnes auxquelles il a été adressé en Egypte; s'il a fait part à quelqu'un de son projet, et ce qu'il fait depuis son arrivée au Kaire.

Répond qu'il a été adressé à personne, et qu'il est allé s'établir à la grande mosquée; qu'il a vu les chefs de la loi Seyd Mohammed el-A'desy, Seyd Ahmed el-Qualy, A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy et Seyd A'bd-el-Qady el-Ghazzy, qui logent dans ladite mosquée; qu'ils lui ont conseillé de ne pas exécuter son projet, parce que cela serait impossible, et qu'il serait tué; qu'on aurait pu charger d'autres que lui de cette mission; qu'il les a entretenus tous les jours de son dessein, et qu'hier enfin il leur a dit qu'il voulait terminer cela, et assassiner le général; qu'il est allé à Gyzéh, pour voir s'il pourrait réussir; qu'il s'est adressé aux matelots de la cange du général, pour savoir s'il sortait; qu'on lui a demandé ce qu'il voulait, et qu'ayant répondu qu'il désirait lui parler, ils lui ont dit qu'il allait tous les soirs dans le jardin: que ce matin il a vu le général alleraumékyas et au Kaire, et qu'il l'a suivi jusqu'à ce qu'il l'ait assassiné.

Le présent interrogatoire fait par le général Menou, en présence des généraux de l'armée, des officiers de l'état-major, et des corps assemblés à l'état-major général, a été clos et signé par le général Menou et le commissaire-ordonnateur Sartelon, soussignés, les jours, mois et an, que des autres parts; l'accusé, après lecture a partiellement signé. Signature de l'accusé en lettres arabes. Le général de division, Menou, le général de Reynier, le général de division Damas, l'adjudant-général Valentin, l'adjudant-général Morand, l'adjudant-général Martinet, Leroy, Sartelon, Bepstiste Canti Lhomaca, drogman: Jean Renno, interprète du général en chef, Damien Bracewich.

INTERROGATOIRE DES TROIS CHEYKHS ACCUSES

Cejourd'hui vingt-cinq prairial an huit de la République française, à huit heures du soir, ont été conduits dans la mission du général Menou, commandant l'armée, les nommés Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy, Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, et Seyd Ahhmad el-Oualy, tous les trois accusés de complicité dans l'assassinat du général en chef Kléber.

Le général Menou ayant ordonné leur interrogatoire, il y a été procédé en présence de divers généraux réunis à cet effet, par l'entremise du citoyen Lhomaca, interprète, de la manière qui suit:

Le nommé Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy a été interrogé le premier, séparément comme ci-après:

Interrogé de ses noms, âge et profession.

Répond s'appeler Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy, natif de Gaza, domicilié au Kaire, où il exerce depuis dix ans l'emploi de lecteur du Koran, à la grande mosquée dite gamè el-azhar, et ne pas savoir son âge qu'il croit être environ trente ans.

Interrogé s'il demeure à la mosquée, et s'il a connaissance des étrangers qui viennent y loger.

Répond qu'il reste nuit et jour dans la mosquée, et qu'il est à portée de connaître les étrangers qu'il remarque.

Interrogé s'il a connu des hommes arrivant de la Syrie il y a un mois.

Répond que depuis cinquante jours il n'a vu arriver personne de la Syrie.

A lui représenté qu'un homme arrivé de l'armée du visir, depuis trente jours, déclare le connaître, et qu'il ne paraît pas dire la vérité.

Répond qu'il s'occupe uniquement de son emploi, qu'il n'a vu personne de la Syrie mais qu'il a entendu dire qu'il était arrivé une caravane de l'Orient.

A lui représenté de nouveau que des hommes arrivés de la Syrie soustiennent lui avoir parlé, et le connaître.

Répond que cela est impossible, et qu'on peut le confronter avec ceux qui l'accusent.

Interrogé s'il ne connaît pas un nommé Soleyman, écrivain arabe, venu d'Alep depuis trente-un jours.

Répond que non.

A lui représenté que cet homme assure l'avoir vu, et lui avoir communiqué divers objets importants.

Répond qu'il ne l'a pas vu, que cet homme a menti, et qu'il consent à périr, s'il est convaincu de ne pas dire la vérité.

De suite, le général ayant fait appeler Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, également prévenu de complicité dudit assassinat, il a été procédé à son interrogatoire, comme il suit:

Interrogé de ses noms, âge, demeure et profession.

Répond s'appeler cheykh Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, âgé d'environ vingt-cinq ans, natif de Gaza, et domicilié au Kaire, où il exerce l'état de lecteur du koran, à la grande mosquée dite el-azhar, depuis cinq ans, et d'où il ne sort que pour prendre des vivres.

Interrogé s'il connaît les étrangers qui viennent loger à la grande mosquée.

Répond qu'il en vient quelquefois, mais que le portier seul a affaire à eux; que pour lui il couche quelquefois à la mosquée ou chez le cheykh Cherqaouy.

Interrogé s'il ne connaît pas un nommé Soleyman, venu de la Syrie, il y a environ un mois.

Répond qu'il ne le connaît pas, qu'il ne peut voir tous ceux qui arrivent, parce que la mosquée est grande.

Interrogé de déclarer ce que lui a dit Soleyman, attendu qu'il a assuré lui avoir parlé à la mosquée.

Répond qu'il le connaît depuis trois ans; qu'il sait qu'il a été à la Mekke; mais que depuis cette époque il ne l'a pas vu, et que s'il est revenu; c'est à son insu.

Interrogé si Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy l'a connu aussi.

Répond que oui.

A lui représenté qu'il est sûr qu'il a causé longtemps hier avec ce Soleyman, et qu'il y a des preuves à cet égard.

Répond que cela est vrai.

Interrogé de dire pourquoi il a commencé de dire qu'il ne l'a point vu.

Répond qu'il ne croit pas l'avoir dit, et que les interprètes se sont trompés.

Interrogé si ce Soleyman ne lui aurait pas parlé d'une chose très-criminelle; ce qui est d'autant plus vrai qu'on sait qu'il a voulu l'en empêcher.

Il répond qu'il ne sait rien de cela; que Soleyman a fait différents voyages au Kaire, et qu'il y est depuis un mois.

A lui représenté qu'il y a des preuves que ce Soleyman lui a dit qu'il voulait tuer le général en chef, et qu'il a voulu l'en empêcher.

Répond qu'il ne lui en a pas parlé; que hier seulement il lui a dit qu'il s'en allait, et qu'il ne reviendrait plus.

De suite, le nommé Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy a été reconduit pour être interrogé de nouveau, ainsi qu'il suit:

Interrogé pourquoi il a dit qu'il ne connaissait pas le nommé Soleyman d'Alep, lorsqu'on a des preuves que depuis 31 jours il l'a vu souvent, et lui a parlé tous les jours.

Répond qu'il est vrai qu'il ne le connaît pas.

Interrogé s'il ne connaît pas le nommé Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, qui est comme lui lecteur à la grande mosquée, dite el-azhar.

Répond que oui.

Et de suite lesdits cheyks ont été confrontés de la manière qui suit:

Interrogé ledit Mohhammed el-Ghazzy s'il n'a pas dit que Seyd A'bd-Allah connaissait ledit Soleyman.

Répond que oui.

Interrogé ledit Seyd A'bd-Allah pourquoi il a nié la vérité.

Répond qu'on lui a mal expliqué la demandé, et que maintenant qu'on lui a parlé de Soleyman d'Alep, il avoue qu'il le connaît.

A lui représenté qu'on sait qu'il a vu Soleyman plusieurs fois, et qu'il lui a parlé souvent.

Répond qu'il y a trois jours qu'il ne l'a pas vu.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas voulu l'empêcher d'assassiner le général en chef.

Répond qu'il ne lui a jamais parlé de ce projet, et que s'il l'avait fait, il l'aurait empêché de tout son pouvoir.

Interrogé pourquoi il ne dit pas la vérité puisqu'il y a des preuves.

Répond que cela ne peut pas être, et qu'il n'a vu ledit Soleyman que pour se saluer réciproquement, lorsqu'ils se sont rencontrés.

Interrogé si Soleyman ne lui avait pas dit ce qu'il venait faire au Kaire.

Répond qu'il ne le lui a jamais dit.

Les deux prévenus ont été reconduits; et le nommé Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy a été amené, pour être interrogé à son tour sur les faits ci-après:

Interrogé de ses noms, âge, demeure et profession.

Répond s'appeler Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy, natif de Gaza, être lecteur du koran à la grande mosquée depuis environ dix ans, et ne pas savoir son âge.

Interrogé s'il a connaissance des étrangers qui arrivent à la mosquée.

Répond que son état est de lire le koran à la grande mosquée, qu'il ne s'occupe pas des étrangers.

A lui représenté que des étrangers, arrivés depuis quelque temps, disent l'avoir vu à la mosquée.

Répond qu'il n'a vu personne.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas vu un homme arrivé de la Syrie, et envoyé par le grand visir, lequel homme assure le connaître.

Répond que non, et qu'on peut faire venir cet homme pour le confronter avec lui.

Interrogé s'il connaît le nommé Soleyman d'Alep.

Répond qu'il connaît un nommé Soleyman qui allait étudier chez un effendy; que cet homme était postulant pour entrer dans les mosquées; qu'il lui a dit être d'Alep; qu'il l'a vu il y a vingt jours; que depuis il ne l'a pas rencontré; qu'il lui a dit que le visir était à Jaffa, et que ses troupes étaient mal payées, et le quittaient.

Interrogé s'il n'est pas le protecteur de ce Soleyman qui s'est réclamé de lui.

Répond qu'il ne le connaît pas assez pour en répondre.

Interrogés si les deux prévenus d'autre part ne sont pas de sa connaissance, et si tous les trois ensemble n'ont pas parlé à Soleyman depuis peu de temps, et notamment hier.

Répond que non: que cependant il sait que ce Soleyman est venu faire des invocations dans la mosquée; qu'il y a placé des papiers dont le contenu était qu'il avait confiance dans son créateur.

Interrogé si hier il n'était pas venu aussi placer de ces papiers.

Répond qu'il n'en sait rien.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas voulu empêcher Soleyman de commettre une action criminelle.

Répond qu'il ne lui a jamais parlé de cela; que cependant il lui a raconté qu'il voulait faire des folies, dont il a cherché à le détourner.

Interrogé quelles étaient les folies dont il lui a parlé.

Répond qu'il lui a dit qu'il voulait entrer dans le combat sacré, et que ce combat consiste à tuer un infidèle, sans cependant qu'il lui ait nommé personne; qu'il a voulu l'en détourner, en disant que Dieu avait donné le pouvoir aux Français, et que rien ne pouvait les empêcher de gouverner le pays.

Ledit accusé a été reconduit, et le présent interrogatoire a été clos en présence des officiers-généraux assemblés, et signé, tant par le général Menou, que par le commissaire-ordonnateur Sartelon, qui a rédigé ce présent interrogatoire, requis à cet effet par le général Menou. Lecture faite aux accusés, ils ont persisté et ont signé.

Au Kaire, les jour, mois et an que dessus.

Suivent trois signature en arabe.

Signé, le général de division,

Ab. J. Menou.

Sartelon, A. Santi Lhomaca, drogman.

PROCES-VERBAL

De l'installation de la Commission.

L'an 8 de la République française, et le 26 prairial, en vertu de l'arrêté en date de ce jour, de général de division Menou, commandant l'armée d'Orient par intérim, se sont assemblés dans la maison du général de division Reynier, le général de brigade Robin, l'ordonnateur de la marine Leroy, l'adjudant-général Martinet, en remplacement du général de division Friant, en suite de l'ordre de général Menou, adjudant-général Morand, le chef de brigade d'infanterie Goguet, le chef de brigade d'artillerie Faure, le chef de brigade du génie Bertrand, le commissaire des guerres Regnier, le commissaire-ordonnateur Sartelon, rapporteur, et le commissaire du pouvoir exécutif de l'assassinat commis dans la journée d'hier sur la personne du général en chef Kléber.

Ladite commission réunie sans la présidence du général Reynier, il a été fait lecture de l'arrêté du général Menou, ci-dessus rappelé: elle a, conformément à l'article III dudit arrêté, nommé pour son greffier le commissaire des guerres Pinet qui a prêté serment, et pris ses fonctions.

Elle a autorisé le général de division Reynier, et le commissaire-ordonnateur Sartelon, rapporteur, à ordonner, en conformité de l'article IV de l'arrêté, toutes arrestations et mise en prison, et faire tout ce qu'ils jugeront nécessaire pour découvrir les auteurs et complices dudit assassinat; elle a ordonné que le poignard trouvé sur le prévenu, lors de son arrestation, sera déposé au greffe pour être représenté en temps et lieu comme pièce de conviction; elle s'est ajournée à demain huit heures du matin, et ont les membres de la commission signé avec le greffier.

Signé, le commissaire des guerres de première classe, Regnier, le chef de la brigade du génie Bertrand, le chef d'artillerie Faure, le chef de la vingt-deuxième demi-brigade d'infanterie légère Goguet, l'adjutant-général Morand, l'adjutant-général Martinet, l'ordonnateur de la marine Le Roi, le général de brigade Robin, le général de division Reynier; Pinet, greffier.

DECLARATION DES TEMOINS

Cejourd'hui, vingt-six prairial an huit de la République française, par devant moi commissaire-ordonnateur soussigné, chargé par l'arrêté de général Menou, commandant l'armée, des fonctions de rapporteur près la commission nommée pour juger les assassins du général en chef Kléber, a comparu pour donner ses déclarations sur ledit assassinat, à quoi, j'ai procédé assisté du citoyen Pinet, greffier, nommé conformément audit arrêté, Joseph Perrin, maréchal-des-logis, chef des canonniers des guides, qui a déclaré que lui et le citoyen Robert, maréchal-des-logis, ont arrêté le turc Soleyman, accusé d'avoir assassiné le général; qu'ils l'ont trouvé dans le jardin des Bains français, attenant à celui de l'état-major; qu'il y était caché entre de petites murailles à moitié démolies, et que lesdites murailles étaient couvertes de sang en différents endroits; que ledit Soleyman était également ensanglanté; qu'ils l'ont arrêté dans cet état, et ont été obligés ensuite de lui donner des coups de sabre pour le faire marcher. Ledit Perrin déclare qu'il a trouvé une heure après, un poignard caché dans la terre au même endroit où il a arrêté Soleyman, et qu'il l'a remis à l'état-major; ledit poignard était ensanglanté.

Lecture à lui faite de sa déposition, il a déclaré ne rien savoir autre chose, n'avoir rien à ajouter à sa déclaration, ni rien à y diminuer, et a signé avec nous et le greffier.

Signé, Perrin, maréchal-des-logis en chef.

Sartelon; Pinet, greffier.

A comparu aussi le citoyen Robert, maréchal-des-logis dans l'artillerie des guides, lequel a déclaré qu'étant occupé à la recherche de l'assassin du général, il s'est rendu dans un jardin attenant à celui de l'état-major, et appartenant à la maison des Bains français, qu'il y a trouvé avec le maréchal-des-logis Perrin, son camarade, le nommé Soleyman, d'Alep, caché dans un coin entre des murailles démolies; qu'il était tout ensanglanté, n'ayant rien sur la tête qu'un morceau de lisière de drap vert; que dans ce costume il l'a reconnu pour être l'assassin du général; que les murailles sur lesquelles il avait passé étaient également ensanglantées; que cet homme a montré de

la frayeur; et qu'une heure après son arrestation il a trouvé, avec le citoyen Perrin, à la même place où il était caché, un poignard rempli de sang, qu'il a apporté à l'état-major: ce poignard était enfoui dans la terre.

Lecture faite de sa déposition, il a déclaré qu'elle contenait la vérité; qu'il n'avait rien à ajouter ni à diminuer, et a signé avec moi et le greffier.

Au Kaïre, les jour, et an que d'autre part.

Signé, Robert, maréchal-des-logis;

Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

Moi, dit commissaire rapporteur, me suis de suite transporté dans la maison du citoyen Protain, où il est retenu dans son lit par suite de ses blessures, et ai reçu sa déclaration ainsi qu'il suit:

Jean-Constantin Protain, architecte, membre de la commission des arts et de l'Institut, a déclaré qu'étant à se promener dans la grande galerie du jardin du quartier-général, qui donne sur place, avec le général en chef, un homme vêtu à la turque, est sorti du fond de la galerie où se trouve un puits à roues; qu'étant à quelques pas de distance du général, et tourné du côté opposé, il entendit le général crier à la garde; qu'il se retourna pour en connaître la cause; qu'il vit alors ledit homme porter des coups de poignard; qu'il reçut plusieurs coups du même poignard qui le mirent à terre, et le firent rouler plusieurs pas; ayant entendu de nouveau crier le général, il se rapprocha de lui; il vit ledit homme le frapper, et il reçut lui-même de nouveaux coups; il perdit enfin connaissance, et ne peut donner d'autres détails: il sait seulement que, malgré leurs cris répétés, ils sont restés plus de six minutes sans secours.

Lecture faite au citoyen Protain de sa déclaration, il a dit qu'elle contient la vérité, qu'il y persiste, qu'il ne veut y ajouter ni diminuer, et a signé avec moi et le greffier.

Signé, Protain, Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

Après avoir signé, le citoyen Protain a déclaré vouloir ajouter que, lorsque Soleyman, d'Alep, accusé d'avoir assassiné le général en chef et lui, lui fut présenté quelques instants après ledit assassinat, il le reconnut pour être le même qui, dans le jardin de la maison du quartier général, porta au général en chef des coups de poignard qui le terrassèrent, et auquel il donna lui-même plusieurs coups de bâton, pour tâcher de défendre le général, à la suite desquels il reçut lui-même plusieurs coups de poignard de Soleyman, d'Alep, qui lui firent perdre connaissance.

Lecture faite au citoyen Protain de la présente addition, il a dit qu'elle contient vérité, qu'il y persiste, ne veut y ajouter ni diminuer, et a signé avec nous et le greffier.

Signé, Protain, Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

Aujourd'hui 25 prairial an 8 de la République française, moi soussigné, rapporteur de la commission nommée pour juger les assassins du général Kléber, ai fait appeler les aides-des-camp dudit général, et ai reçu leur déclaration, assisté du citoyen Pinet, greffier de la commission, de la manière qui suit:

Le citoyen Fortuné Devougues, âgé de 24 ans, lieutenant au vingt-deuxième régiment de chasseurs à cheval, aide-de-camp du général en chef Kléber, a déclaré que le 25 prairial ayant accompagné le général en chef dans la visite qu'il fit à son quartier-général du Kaire, où il avait ordonné des réparations, un homme à turban vert, vêtu d'une mauvaise casaque, ne cessa de marcher à la suite du général pendant qu'il parcourait ses appartements, et chacun le prenant pour un ouvrier, on le laissa librement aller et venir; mais le général en chef ayant traversé son jardin pour aller dans celui du général Damas, le citoyen Devougues s'apercevant que le même homme se mêlait toujours dans la suite du général, lui demanda ce qu'il voulait, et le fit chasser par un domestique: cet homme disparut en effet.

Deux heures après, lorsque le général fut assassiné; le citoyen Devougues reconnut à côté du général le vêtement qu'avait l'assassin, pour être le même que celui de l'homme dont il vient de parler; et peu de temps après on amena un homme couvert de sang, qu'il reconnut parfaitement pour celui qu'il avait précédemment fait chasser.

Lecture à lui faite de sa déposition, le citoyen Devougues a déclaré qu'elle contenait vérité, et qu'il n'avait rien à y ajouter ni diminuer, et a signé avec moi et le greffier.

Au Kaire, les jour, mois et an que d'autre part.

Signé, R. Devougues, Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

NOUVEL INTERROGATOIRE

DE SOLEYMAN EL-HHALEBY.

Ce jourd'hui 26 prairial an 8 de la République française, moi soussigné commissaire-ordonnateur, remplissant les fonctions de rapporteur près la commission chargée de juger les assassins du général en chef Kléber, j'ai fait traduire devant moi le nommé Soleyman, d'Alep, prévenu dudit assassinat, pour l'interroger de nouveau sur les faits ci-après, auquel interrogatoire j'ai procédé, assisté du citoyen Pinet, greffier, nommé par la commission, et par l'entremise du citoyen Bracewich, premier secrétaire interprète du général en chef.

Interrogé de nouveau sur les faits résultant dudit assassinat.

A répondu qu'il était venu sur un dromadaire faisant partie d'une caravane arabe, chargée de savon et de tabac; que cette caravane craignant d'entrer au Kaire, s'en est allée directement au village de Ghayttah, pro-

vince d'Atthiehhly; que là il a pris un âne pour se rendre au Kaire; qu'il avait loué cet âne à un paysan qu'il ne connaissait pas.

Qu'il a été chargé d'assassiner le général par Ahhmed agha et Yassyn agha des janissaires d'Alep; que ces deux aghas lui avaient bien défendu de s'en ouvrir à qui que ce fût, parce que c'était une chose délicate; qu'on l'a envoyé, parce qu'il connaissait beaucoup le Kaire où il était resté trois ans; qu'on lui a dit d'aller à la grande mosquée de bien prendre son temps et ses mesures, et de ne pas manquer de tuer le général.

Qu'il s'est ouvert cependant aux quatre cheykhhs qu'il a nommés, parce que sans cela ils n'auraient pas voulu le loger à la mosquée; qu'il leur a parlé tous les jours de son projet dont ils ont voulu le détourner, en lui disant que cela était impossible, qu'il ne les avait pas priés de l'aider, parce qu'ils sont trop poltrons.

Que le jour où il s'était déterminé à consommer ledit assassinat, il n'a trouvé des quatre cheykhhs qu'il a nommés que Mohhammed el-Ghazzy à qui il a dit qu'il allait à Gyzéh pour cet objet; qu'il était seul pour assassiner le général, et qu'il croit qu'il était fou depuis qu'il avait fait ce projet, puisque sans cela il ne serait jamais venu de Gaza, pour consommer l'assassinat auquel il s'est porté.

Que les papiers qu'il a mis dans la mosquée, n'étaient que des versets du koran, l'usage des écrivains arabes étant d'y en mettre souvent;

Qu'il n'a reçu d'argent de personne au Kaire; que les aghas lui en avaient donné;

Que l'effendy chez qui il a étudié s'appelle Moustaffa Effendy, chez qui il allait, suivant l'usage, tous les lundi et jeudi; mais qu'il n'a pas osé lui en parler, parce qu'il craignait d'être trahi.

Mais qu'il a dit au quatre cheykhhs qu'il a nommés, quels étaient ses projets, parce qu'ils étaient syriens comme lui; qu'il leur a communiqué l'intention où il était d'entrer dans le combat sacré, et qu'il l'a réellement dit à tous les quatre.

Interrogé où il était lorsque le visir est venu d'Egypte, au commencement du mois, de germinal dernier, correspondant au mois turc appelé dou-l-qa'deh.

A répondu qu'il était à Jérusalem où il faisait un pèlerinage, et où il était même auparavant, lorsque le visir a pris el-A'rich.

Interrogé où est-ce qu'il a vu Ahhmed agha qu'il assure lui avoir proposé cet assassinat, et quel jour il l'a vu,

Répond que lorsque le visir a été battu il s'est retiré vers el-A'rich et Gaza, à la fin du mois turc chaoual, ou au commencement du mois dou-l-qa'deh, qui correspond au mois de germinal de l'ère française; que Ahhmed agha faisait partie de cette armée qu'il était depuis la prise d'el-A'rich, détenu à Gaza par l'ordre du visir; que cet agha a été transféré à Jérusalem;

dans la maison du Moutsellem, ou gouverneur de la ville; que lui Soleyman était à cette époque à Jérusalem; qu'il est allé voir Ahhmed agha, le premier jour de son arrivée, pour se plaindre à lui de ce que son père, nommé Hhagy Mohammed Aryn, marchand de beurre à Alep, éprouvait toujours des avanies par Ibrahim, pacha dudit Alep; qu'il lui en avait fait une assez considérable avant le départ du visir du Damas, pour venir en Egypte; que cette avanie avait été payée; que craignant qu'elles ne se renouvellassent, il lui avait demandé sa protection;

Qu'il était retourné le jour suivant chez ledit Ahhmed agha; que ce jour là l'agha lui avait dit qu'il était l'ami d'Ibrahim pacha, et qu'il lui rendait service auprès de lui, s'il voulait se charger de tuer le général de l'armée française;

Que le troisième et le quatrième jour il lui avait fait les mêmes propositions, et qu'alors il l'avait adressé à Yassyn agha, qui était à Gaza, pour le défrayer; qu'il était parti de Jérusalem trois ou quatre jours après, pour se rendre au village Khalyl, sans qu'il eût reçu aucune lettre d'Ahhmed agha, qui avait envoyé un domestique à Gaza, pour instruire de tout Yassyn agha.

Interrogé combien il a demeuré de temps à Khalyl.

Répond qu'il y a demeuré vingt jours.

Interrogé pourquoi il a demeuré vingt jours dans ce village, et s'il n'a reçu aucune lettre des deux aghas.

Répond qu'il avait peur des Arabes dont la route était remplie; qu'il a attendu une caravane pour faire ce voyage, sans recevoir aucunes lettres, et qu'au bout de ces vingt jours il s'est rendu avec elle à Gaza, sur la fin du mois dou-l-qa'deh, qui correspond au commencement du mois de floréal de l'ère française.

Interrogé ce qu'il a fait à Gaza, et ce que lui a dit Yassya agha.

Répond que le second jour de son arrivée à Gaza, il s'est présenté à l'agha qui lui a dit être instruit de l'affaire pour laquelle il était venu; que cet agha l'a logé à la grande mosquée où il est venu plusieurs fois, soit de jour, soit de nuit, pour se concerter secrètement avec lui; qu'il lui a promis de faire ôter les avanies à son père, et de le protéger lui-même dans toutes les occasions; qu'il lui a donné quarante piastres turcs, de quarante carats l'une, pour les frais de voyage, en lui donnant les instructions dont il a parlé; et qu'il est parti dix jours après son arrivée, sur un dromadaire avec lequel il est venu en six jours, ainsi qu'il l'a expliqué, son départ ayant eu lieu dans les premiers jours du mois turc d'y l-hhadjéh, correspondant au milieu de floréal de l'ère française, en sorte que lorsqu'il a assassiné le général, il y avait trente-un jours qu'il était au Kaïre.

Interrogé s'il reconnaît le poignard ensanglanté avec lequel le général en chef a été assassiné.

Répond qu'il le reconnaît pour être le même avec lequel il assassina le général.

Interrogé qui lui a donné ce poignard, s'il le tient d'un des deux aghas, et comment il se l'est procuré.

Répond que personne ne le lui a donné; qu'il l'a acheté au marché de Gaza, dans l'intention de s'en servir pour tuer le général, et qu'il a pris la première arme qu'il a trouvé à acheter.

Interrogé si Ahhmed agha ou Yassyn agha, ou tous les deux ensemble, lui ont parlé du grand visir, pour lui offrir sa protection dans le cas où il assassinerait le général.

Répond que non; qu'ils lui ont seulement offert la leur en cas qu'il parvînt à réussir.

Interrogé si le visir a fait des proclamations contre les Français, pour les faire assassiner.

Répond qu'il n'en sait rien; qu'il sait seulement que le visir avait envoyé à Trahor pacha, pour secourir les insurgés du Kaire, et que ce pacha est rentré, lorsqu'il a trouvé les Osmanlis qui se retiraient.

Interrogé s'il est le seul qui ait été chargé de cette mission.

Répond qu'il le croit, et qu'il était seul dans le secret avec les deux aghas.

Interrogé comment il devait informer les deux aghas de cet assassinat.

Répond qu'il devait aller les trouver, ou leur envoyer promptement un exprès,

Le présent interrogatoire a été clos par moi rapporteur soussigné, et il a été signé par l'accusé après lecture, et par le greffier et l'interprète.

Au Kaire, les jours, mois et an que d'autre part. Suit la signature de l'accusé en arabe. Signé: Sartelon, Damien Bracewich, Pinet, greffier.

CONFRONTATION DES ACCUSES

Cejourd'hui vingt-six prairial an huit de la République française, moi soussigné rapporteur de la commission chargée de juger les assassins du général en chef Kléber, ai fait appeler le cheykh Mohammed el-Ghazzy, prévenu de complicité dans ledit assassinat, pour l'interroger de nouveau, et le confronter avec Soleyman, d'Alep, prévenu d'être l'auteur dudit crime, auxquels interrogatoires et confrontations j'ai procédé de la manière qui suit, conjointement avec le citoyen Pinet, greffier de ladite commission.

Interrogé ledit cheykh Mohammed el-Ghazzy s'il connaît le nommé Soleyman, d'Alep, ici présent.

Répond que oui.

Interrogé le nommé Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, si Soleyman, d'Alep, ici présent, ne lui a point confié, depuis trente-un jours, qu'il était au Kaire, le dessein où il était de tuer le général en chef; s'il ne lui a pas dit qu'il était venu de la Syrie pour cet objet, de la part des aghas Ahhmed et Yassyn; s'il ne les a pas entretenus à peu près tous les jours, et enfin si la veille du jour où il a assassiné le général en chef, il ne lui a pas dit qu'il partait pour aller à Gyzéh, dans le dessein de le tuer.

A répondu que tout cela est faux; que lorsqu'ils se sont vus, ils se sont seulement salués, et que la veille du jour où il est parti pour Gyzéh, il lui a apporté du papier et de l'encre, et lui a dit qu'il ne reviendrait que le lendemain.

A lui représenté, qu'il ne dit pas la vérité, puisque Soleyman, qui est ici présent, soutient qu'il lui a parlé tous les jours, et notamment la veille de l'assassinat, du dessein où il était de tuer le général.

Répond que cet homme ment.

Interrogé s'il ne va pas coucher souvent chez le cheykh Cherqaouy, et s'il n'y a pas été coucher ces jours derniers.

Répond que depuis l'arrivée des Français il n'y a jamais couché, et qu'il y allait coucher quelquefois auparavant.

A lui représenté qu'il ne dit pas la vérité, puisque dans son interrogatoire d'hier il a déclaré qu'il allait souvent coucher chez le cheykh Cherkaouy.

Répond qu'il ne l'a pas dit.

Interrogé le nommé Soleyman, de déclarer s'il persiste à soutenir au cheykh Mohhammed, ici présent, qu'il lui a parlé tous les jours du projet où il était d'assassiner le général, et notamment la veille dudit assassinat.

Répond que oui, qu'il a dit la vérité, et que le cheykh Mohhammed el-Ghazzy a peur.

Le cheykh Mohhammed el-Ghazzy persistant dans ses dénégations, j'ai jugé convenable, vu les preuves acquises, de lui faire infliger la bastonnade, suivant l'usage du pays, pour qu'il déclare ses complices: elle lui a été donnée jusqu'à ce qu'il ait promis de dire la vérité, après quoi il a été délié et interrogé de nouveau, ainsi qu'il suit:

Interrogé si Soleyman lui a fait part de son projet d'assassiner le général en chef.

Répond qu'il lui a dit souvent qu'il était venu de Gaza, pour entrer dans le combat secret contre les infidèles français; qu'il l'en a détourné en lui disant que cela aurait une mauvaise fin; que ce n'est que la veille de l'assassinat, qu'il lui a dit qu'il voulait tuer le général en chef.

Interrogé pourquoi il n'est pas venu dénoncer ledit Soleyman.

Répond que c'est parce qu'il n'aurait jamais cru qu'un homme de sa façon pût tuer le général en chef, lorsque le visir n'avait pu le faire.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas fait part de ce que lui a dit Soleyman à plusieurs personnes de la ville, notamment au cheykh Cherkaouy.

Répond qu'il n'en a parlé à personne, et que quand on le tuerait, il ne le dirait pas.

Interrogé s'il sait qu'il y ait au Kaire d'autres personnes chargées d'assassiner les Français, et où elles sont.

Répond qu'il n'en a point connaissance, et que Soleyman ne lui en a jamais parlé.

Interrogé ledit Soleyman de déclarer également où sont ses complices.

Répond qu'il n'en a point au Kaire, et qu'il ne croit pas qu'il y ait d'autres personnes que lui, pour assassiner les Français.

De suite ledit Mohhammed el-Ghazzy a été conduit à sa prison, et Soleyman est resté pour être confronté avec Seyd Ahhmed-el-Oualy qui a été amené pour cet objet.

Interrogé s'il connaît Soleyman, d'Alelp, ici présent.

A répondu que oui.

Interrogé ledit Soleyman s'il connaît le nommé Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy, ici présent.

A répondu également que oui.

Interrogé le cheykh Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy si Soleyman lui a fait part d'assassiner le général français, notamment la veille dudit assassinat.

Répond que Soleyman, à son arrivée, il y a environ trente jours, lui a dit qu'il venait pour entrer dans le combat sacré contre les infidèles; qu'il l'en a détourné en lui disant que cela n'était pas bien fait, mais que il ne lui a pas dit qu'il voulût assassiner le général en chef.

Interrogé ledit Soleyman de déclarer s'il a dit à Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy, qu'il voulait assassiner le général en chef, et combien, avant l'assassinat, il y avait de jours qu'il en avait parlé.

Répond que les premiers jours de son arrivée il lui a dit qu'il venait pour entrer dans le combat sacré, ce qu'il a désapprouvé; que six jours après il lui a fait part de son projet d'assassiner le général; que depuis il ne lui en a plus parlé, et qu'il y avait quatre jours qu'il ne l'avait pas vu lors dudit assassinat.

Représenté à Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy, qu'il n'a pas dit la vérité, en assurant que Soleyman ne lui a point fait part de son projet d'assassiner le général.

Répond que maintenant que Soleyman le lui a rappelé, il s'en souvient.

Interrogé pourquoi il n'a pas dénoncé ledit Soleyman.

Répond que c'est pour deux motifs; le premier, parce qu'il croyait qu'il mentait; et le second, parce qu'il le méprisait trop pour le croire capable d'une pareille action.

Interrogé si Soleyman lui a dit qu'il eût quelque complice; et si lui Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy en a parlé à quelqu'un, notamment au cheykh de la grande mosquée, à qui il doit rendre compte de tout ce qui s'y passe.

Répond que Soleyman ne lui a point dit qu'il eût des complices; qu'il n'a point cru qu'il fût de son devoir d'en prévenir le cheykh de la mosquée, et qu'il n'en a parlé lui-même à personne.

Interrogé s'il avait connaissance d'un ordre du général en chef, qui ordonne de dénoncer tous les Osmanlis qui arrivent au Kaire.

Répond qu'il n'en a pas connaissance.

Interrogé de déclarer s'il n'a pas logé Soleyman à la mosquée, parce qu'il a déclaré qu'il venait pour assassiner le général.

Répond que non; que tous les musulmans peuvent loger à la mosquée.

Interrogé Soleyman s'il n'a pas dit qu'on ne l'aurait pas reçu, s'il n'avait pas déclaré quel était le motif qui l'amenait au Kaire.

Répond que les arrivants sont obligés de le dire, mais qu'il doit à la vérité de déclarer qu'aucun des cheykh n'a approuvé son projet.

Ledit Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy a été reconduit, et Soleyman est resté pour être confronté à Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy, qui a été amené pour cet objet.

Interrogé ledit Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy s'il connaît ledit Soleyman ici présent.

Répond que oui.

Interrogé le nommé Soleyman s'il connaît ledit Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy ici présent.

Répond que oui.

Interrogé Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy s'il n'avait pas connaissance du projet de Soleyman pour assassiner le général en chef.

Répond et avoue qu'à son arrivée il lui a fait part de son dessein de combattre les infidèles, et de tuer le général en chef, et qu'il a voulu l'en détourner.

Interrogé pourquoi il n'a pas dénoncé ledit Soleyman.

Répond qu'il croyait qu'il serait allé trouver les grands cheykh du Kaire, qui l'en auraient détourné, et qu'il le fera à l'avenir.

Interrogé s'il a parlé de ce projet à quelqu'un, et s'il sait que Soleyman en ait également fait part à quelques personnes du Kaire.

Répond qu'il n'en sait rien.

Interrogé s'il sait qu'il y ait au Kaire d'autres personnes chargées d'assassiner les Français.

Répond qu'il n'en sait rien, et qu'il ne le croit pas.

Lecture faite du présent procès-verbal de confrontation à Soleyman accusé, à Mohhammed el-Ghazzy, à Seyd Ahhmed el-Oualy et à Seyd A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy, ils ont déclaré que leurs réponses contiennent vérité, n'ont rien à ajouter ni à diminuer, qu'ils persistent; et ont signé avec nous, Bracewich et Lhomaca, interprètes, et le greffier.

Au Kaire, les jour, mois et an que d'autre part.

Suivent les signatures des accusés en arabe.

Signé, Baptiste Santi Lhomaca, drogman; le premier secrétaire interprète du général en chef, Damien Bracewich, Sartelon, Pinet greffier.

Et après avoir clos ledit interrogatoire, moi commissaire-rapporteur ai demandé aux quatre prévenus s'ils voulaient se choisir un ami pour défenseur; et nous ayant déclaré qu'ils ne pouvaient en désigner aucun, nous avons fait choix du nommé Lhommaca, interprète, pour remplir cet objet.

Au Kaire, les jour, mois et an que dessus.

Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

INTERROGATOIRE DE MOUSTAFA EFFENDI

Aujourd'hui 26 prairial an 8, de la République française, moi soussigné, rapporteur de ladite commission nommé pour juger les assassins du général en chef Kléber, ai fait appeler devant moi le nommé Moustaffa Effendy, pour l'interroger sur les faits résultants dudit assassinat; auquel interrogatoire, j'ai procédé, assisté du citoyen Pinet, greffier de la commission.

Interrogé de son nom, âge, domicile et profession.

Répond s'appeler Moustafa Effendy, natif de Brouze en Bithynie, âgé de quatre-vingt-un ans, et être maître d'école.

Interrogé s'il a vu depuis un mois le nommé Soleyman, d'Alep.

Répond que cet homme a été son élève, il y a trois ans qu'il l'a vu, il y a dix ou vingt jours qu'il est venu coucher chez lui; mais que, comme il est pauvre, il lui a dit de chercher asile ailleurs.

Interrogé si le nommé Soleyman ne lui a pas dit qu'il était venu de Syrie pour assassiner le général en chef.

Répond que non; qu'il est venu seulement chez lui pour le saluer comme son ancien maître.

Interrogé si Soleyman ne lui a pas parlé des motifs qui l'avaient amené, et si lui-même ne s'en est pas informé.

Répond qu'il n'a pas été occupé que de le renvoyer, parce qu'il est pauvre; qu'il lui a cependant demandé ce qu'il venait faire, et qu'il lui a dit qu'il venait se perfectionner dans la lecture.

Interrogé s'il ne sait point qu'il soit allé voir quelqu'un au Kaire, notamment des cheykh's considérables.

Répond qu'il n'en sait rien, parce qu'il l'a vu très peu de temps, et que d'ailleurs, vu son âge et ses infirmités, il sort peu de chez lui.

Interrogé s'il n'enseigne pas le koran à des élèves.

Répond que oui.

Interrogé si le koran ordonne les combats sacrés, et prescrit de tuer les infidèles.

Répond qu'il connaît les combats sacrés, et que le koran en parle.

Interrogé s'il enseigne de pareils principes à ses élèves.

Répond qu'un vieillard n'a rien à faire dans tout cela; mais qu'il est vrai que le koran parle des combats sacrés, et que celui qui tue un infidèle est dans le chemin de la direction.

Interrogé s'il a appris d'aussi belles choses à Soleyman.

Répond qu'il ne lui a appris qu'à écrire.

Interrogé s'il sait qu'un musulman a tué hier le général en chef de l'armée française, qui n'était pas de sa religion, et si, d'après les principes du koran, cette action est louable et approuvée par le prophète.

Répond que celui qui tue doit être tué; que quant à lui, il croit que l'honneur des Français est aussi l'honneur des musulmans, et que si le koran dit autre chose, ce n'est pas sa faute.

De suite ledit Soleyman a été confronté avec ledit Moustaffa Effendy.

Interrogé s'il a vu plus d'une fois l'Effendy Moustaffa, et s'il lui a fait part de son projet.

Répond qu'il ne l'a vu qu'une fois, comme son ancien maître, qu'il est venu seulement pour le saluer, que cet homme est vieux et infirme, et qu'il ne convenait pas de lui faire part de son projet.

Interrogé s'il n'est pas de la secte des combats sacrés, et si les cheykh's de la ville ne l'ont pas autorisé à tuer au Kaire les infidèles, pour gagner les bonnes grâces du prophète Mohammed.

Répond qu'il a parlé des combats sacrés seulement aux quatre cheykh's qu'il a nommés.

Interrogé s'il n'a pas parlé au cheykh Cherkaouy.

Répond qu'il ne voit pas ce cheykh parce qu'ils ne sont pas musulmans du même rite, que le cheykh Cherkaouy est de la secte de Chafé'y et lui de la secte de Hhanefy.

Lecture faite à Soleyman et à Moustaffa de leurs réponses; ils ont déclaré qu'elle contenait vérité, qu'ils n'avaient rien à ajouter ni à diminuer; et ils ont signé avec nous, le greffier et le citoyen Lhomaca, interprète.

Au Kaire, les jour, mois et an que d'autre part.

Suivent les signatures des accusés en arabe.

Signés B. Santi-Lhomaca, Sartelon, Pinet, greffier.

RAPPORT

Fait le 27 prairial an 8; par le commissaire ordonnateur SARTELON, à la commission chargée de juger l'assassin du général en chef Kléber, et ses complices.

CITOYENS,

Le deuil général et la douleur profonde dont nous sommes environnés, nous annoncent assez la grandeur de la perte que l'armée vient d'éprouver. Au milieu de ses triomphes et de sa gloire, notre général nous est tout-à-coup enlevé par le fer d'un assassin dont la trahison et le fanatisme ont stipendié la main parricide et mercenaire. Chargé de provoquer contre cet homme exécrable et ses complices, la vengeance des lois, qu'il me soit permis d'unir un moment mes pleurs et mes regrets à ceux dont sa victime est parmi nous le triste, mais honorable objet; mon cœur sent vivement le besoin de lui rendre ce tribut justement mérité; ma tâche m'en semblera plus facile, et j'entrerais avec moins de dégoût dans les détails dont cet affreux événement se compose.

Vous venez d'entendre la lecture de l'information, de l'interrogatoire des prévenus et des autres pièces de la procédure.

Jamais crimes ne fut mieux prouvé que celui dont vous allez juger les perfides auteurs: les déclarations des témoins, l'aveu de l'assassin et de ses complices; tout en un mot se réunit pour jeter une clarté horrible sur cet infâme assassinat.

Je vais parcourir rapidement les faits, et retenir, s'il est possible, l'indignation qu'ils inspirent. Que l'Europe, que le monde entier apprennent que le ministre suprême de l'empire ottoman, que ses généraux, que son armée ont eu la lâcheté d'envoyer un assassin au malheureux Kléber qu'ils n'avaient pu vaincre, et qu'ils ont ajouté à la honte de leur défaite, celle du crime atroce dont ils se sont souillés aux yeux de l'univers.

Vous vous rappelez tous cet essaim d'Osmanlis accourus il y a trois mois, à la voix du visir, de Constantinople et du fond de l'Asie, pour s'emparer de l'Égypte qu'ils prétendaient nous forcer de quitter en vertu d'un traité dont leurs alliés empêchaient eux-mêmes l'exécution.

A peine les restes de cette horde barbare, vaincue dans les plaines de Matharyéh et d'Héliopolis, ont repassé honteusement le désert, que les cris de rage et de désespoir se font entendre de toute part dans leurs rangs.

Le visir inonde l'Égypte et la Syrie de proclamations provoquant au meurtre contre les Français qui l'ont vaincu.

C'est surtout contre le général qu'il cherche à assouvir sa vengeance.

C'est au moment où les habitants de l'Égypte, égarés par ses manœuvres, éprouvent la clémence et la générosité de leur vainqueur; c'est au moment où les prisonniers de son armée sont accueillis, et ses blessés reçus dans nos hôpitaux, qu'il met tout en usage pour consommer l'affreux attentat qu'il médite depuis longtemps.

Il se sert pour l'exécuter, d'un agha disgrâcié: il attache au crime qu'il lui propose, le retour de sa faveur, et la conservation de sa tête déjà promise.

Ahhmed agha, emprisonné à Gaza depuis la prise d'el-A'rych, se rend à Jérusalem après la déroute du visir, dans les premiers jours de germinal dernier; il a pour prison la maison du Moutselem; et il s'occupe dans cet asile, du projet atroce dont il a eu la barbarie de se charger.

Une fatalité inconcevable semble avoir tout préparé pour l'exécution de la vengeance du visir.

Soleyman, d'Alep, jeune homme de vingt-quatre ans, sans doute souillé par le crime, se présente chez l'agha le jour même de son arrivée à Jérusalem, et réclame sa protection pour soustraire son père, marchand d'Alep, aux avanies périodiques d'Ibrahym, pacha de cette ville.

Il y revient le lendemain. Des informations ont été prises sur le caractère de ce jeune fanatique: il est reconnu qu'il se prépare à être reçu lecteur du koran dans une mosquée: qu'il est à Jérusalem pour un pèlerinage; qu'il en a déjà fait deux autres à la Mekke et à Médine, et que le délire religieux est porté au plus grand degré dans sa tête troublée par de fausses idées sur la perfection de l'islamisme, dont il croit que ce qu'il appelle les combats sacrés et la mort des infidèles, sont le gage le plus précieux et le plus assuré.

Dès ce moment Ahhmed agha n'hésite plus à lui parler de la mission qu'il désire lui confier; il lui promet sa protection et des récompenses; il l'adresse à Yassyn agha, qui commande à Gaza un détachement de l'armée du visir, et l'envoie quelques jours après pour recevoir de lui les instructions et l'argent qui lui sont nécessaires.

Soleyman, déjà plein de son crime, se met aussitôt en route; il demeure vingt jours au village de Khalyi, dans la Palestine; il y attend une caravane

pour passer le désert; et rempli d'impatience, il arrive à Gaza dans les premiers jours de floréal dernier.

Yassyn agha le loge dans une mosquée pour entretenir son fanatisme; il le voit souvent en secret, soit de jour, soit de nuit, pendant les dix jours qu'il passe dans cette ville; il lui donne des instructions, et quarante piastres turques, et le fait enfin partir sur un dromadaire avec une caravane, qui le conduit en six jours en Egypte.

Muni d'un poignard, il arrive vers le milieu du mois de floréal au Kaire où il a déjà passé trois ans; il se loge, suivant ses instructions, à la grande mosquée, et se prépare au crime pour lequel il y est envoyé, par des invocations à l'Être suprême, et des prières écrites qu'il place sur les murs de la mosquée.

Il y est reçu par quatre lecteurs du koran, nés comme lui dans la Syoie; il leur fait part de sa mission, les entretient à chaque instant, et n'en est détourné que par la difficulté de l'entreprise, et le danger qu'ils trouvent à l'exécuter.

Mohammed el-Ghazzy, Sayd Ahhmed el-Oualy, A'bd-Allah el-Ghazzy et A'bdou-el-Kadyr el-Ghazzy reçoivent la confiance de ce projet, sans rien faire pour empêcher de le consommer, et s'en rendent complices par leur silence constant et soutenu.

L'assassin attend au Kaire sa victime pendant trente et un jours; il se détermine enfin à partir pour Gyzéh, et confie le jour de son départ, l'objet de son voyage à Mohammed el-Ghazzy, l'un des prévenus.

Il semble que tout concoure à favoriser son crime: le général part de Gyzéh, le lendemain de son arrivée, pour se rendre au Kaire; Soleyman le suit pendant toute la route; on est obligé plusieurs fois de l'éloigner; mais il poursuit toujours sa victime, et parvient enfin, le 25 de ce mois, à se cacher dans le jardin du général: il l'aborde pour lui baiser la main, son air de misère intéresse; il n'est point repoussé, et il profite de ce moment d'abandon pour lui porter quatre coups de poignard. En vain le citoyen Protain, architecte et membre de l'Institut, se dévoue généreusement pour lui sauver la vie, son courage est inutile, et il reçoit lui-même six blessures qui le mettent hors de combat.

C'est ainsi qu'est tombé sans défense sous les coups d'un assassin, celui qui, dans une carrière militaire, remplie de gloire et de dangers, fut respecté par les hasards de la guerre; qui le premier passa le Rhin à la tête des armées républicaines, et conquit glorieusement une seconde fois l'Egypte envahie par une nuée d'Osmanlis.

Que pourrai-je ajouter à la douleur profonde dont il est l'objet! Les larmes des soldats dont il fut le père, les regrets des généraux qui furent les compagnons de ses travaux et de sa gloire, le deuil et la consternation de l'armée, sont le seul éloge digne de lui.

L'assassin Soleyman n'a pu éviter les recherches des troupes indignées; le sang dont il était couvert, son poignard, son air égaré et farouche ont

découvert son crime: il l'avoue et nomme ses complices; il semble s'applaudir du meurtre infâme qu'il vient de commettre. Dans les interrogatoires qu'il subit, et à la vue des supplices qui l'attendent, il conserve un calme inaltérable qui devrait être le fruit de l'innocence, mais qui trop souvent aussi est le partage du fanatisme.

Les complices avouent également la confiance qui leur a été faite du projet de l'assassinat qu'ils ont laissé consommer par leur silence.

En vain ils prétendent qu'ils n'ont jamais cru Soleyman capable de ce crime; en vain ils assurent qu'ils l'auraient révélé, s'ils avaient pu penser qu'il eût eu réellement l'intention de le commettre; les faits parlent contre eux; ils ont reçu l'assassin, ils l'ont accueilli, ils ne l'ont détourné de son projet, qu'à raison du danger personnel qu'il courait; ils sont donc des complices, et rien ne peut les excuser.

Je ne parle point de Moustaffa Effendy: il n'existe contre ce vieillard aucune preuve qui puisse le faire regarder comme complice.

Le genre de supplice à prononcer contre les prévenus est laissé entièrement à votre choix par l'arrêté qui vous charge de leur jugement définitif. Je crois devoir vous engager à n'en adopter aucun qui ne soit en usage dans le pays mais la grandeur de l'attentat exige qu'il soit terrible: celui de l'empalement me paraît convenable. Que la main de cet homme infâme soit brûlée avant tout; qu'il expire ensuite sur son pal, et que son corps y reste exposé jusqu'à ce qu'il soit dévoré par les oiseaux de proie.

Quant aux complices, quoique leur délit soit grand, il semble que leur supplice doive être moins sévère que celui de l'assassin; la simple peine de mort, telle qu'elle est adoptée en Egypte, doit suffire, et je crois devoir vous la proposer.

Que le visir, que les féroces Osmanlis qu'il commande, apprennent, en frémissant, le châtement du monstre qui osa se charger de leur vengeance atroce. Leur crime prive, il est vrai, l'armée d'un chef qui sera toujours l'objet de nos regrets et de nos larmes; mais qu'ils n'espèrent point abattre nos courages: le successeur du général que nous avons perdu, déjà connu par ses talents, par sa bravoure et par les qualités brillantes qui l'ont distingué dans sa carrière politique et militaire, saura nous conduire aussi à la victoire; et les lâches qui ne rougirent pas de se venger de leur défaite par un assassinat dont l'histoire n'offrit jamais d'exemple, ne retireront de cet acte de barbarie d'autre fruit que de s'être déshonorés inutilement aux yeux de l'univers.

C'est sur les considérations développées dans ce rapport, que je motive mes conclusions qui tendent: 1o.) A ce que le nommé Soleyamn, d'Alep, soit déclaré convaincu d'avoir assassiné le général en chef Kléber; qu'il soit condamné à avoir la main droite brûlée, à être empalé, et à expirer ensuite sur son pal où il restera jusqu'à ce que son cadavre soit dévoré par les oiseaux de proie; 2o.) A ce que les trois cheykhhs Mohhammed, A'bd-

Allah et Ahhmed el-Ghazzy soient déclarés complices dudit assassinat, et comme tels condamnés à avoir la tête tranchée; 3o.) A ce que le cheykh A'bd el-Kadyr, contumace, soit aussi condamné à la même peine; 4o.) A ce que l'exécution ait lieu au retour du cortège funéraire, en présence de l'armée et des gens du pays rassemblés à cet effet; 5o.) A ce que Moustaffa Effendy soit déclaré non convaincu de complicité, et mis en liberté; 6o.) Enfin, à ce que le jugement et les pièces du procès soient imprimés et affichés au nombre de cinq cents exemplaires, et traduits en langues turke et arabe, pour être placardés dans les différentes provinces de l'Egypte, aux lieux accoutumés et désignés à cet effet.

Au Kaire, le 27 prairial an 8 de la République française.

Signé SARTELON.

(Suit le jugement précité à la page 284 du tome premier).

Fin du tome second et dernier.

Les exemplaires prescrits par la loi ont été déposés
à la bibliothèque nationale.

ACTON AS A MEMBER
OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

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ACTON AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

In a previous paper (1) I have described how Sir John Acton was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of Carlow in 1859 after a contest in which he took no personal part, issued no election address and in a constituency which he had never previously visited. In this paper I hope to show why Acton so lost the confidence of the electors that he was not even a candidate for the honour of representing the borough at the election of 1865 and to discuss in general Acton's whole attitude towards his parliamentary duties.

The result of the Carlow poll was declared on Friday morning May 6, 1859 but it was not until the following month that the new member presented himself to his constituents with whom he stayed for almost a week, from the evening of Thursday June 2 to the morning of Wednesday June 8. The banquet at which he entertained his supporters was given on the evening of Tuesday June 7 (2). This was the only time Acton visited Carlow during the six years he represented the constituency (3); and there is evidence to show that he was as chary with his cash and with his attention to his constituents as he was with his presence.

Acton was elected as a liberal, or to be more accurate as an opponent of Lord Derby rather than as a supporter of Palmerston, though, of course, his step-father Earl Granville was a member of the cabinet Palmerston formed after the election of 1859. He was the nominee of that section in the borough of Carlow which responded to the forceful leadership of the Rev. James Maher, Parish Priest of Graigue; a leadership so powerful that, despite the disappointment Acton provided as a member, it was able to place another unknown, this time an English protestant liberal — Osborne Stock of Cavendish Square London, in the representation of the borough at the election of 1865 (4).

The parliament which sat from 1859-1865 was one in which no great issues arose and in which the balance of parties was so established that Lord Palmerston's cabinet was permitted to govern with the tacit support of their opponents led by the Earl of Derby who was well aware of the

(1) *Acton's Election as an Irish Member of Parliament* in *English Historical Review* Vol. LXI, No. 241, Sept. 1946. pp. 349-405.

(2) *Carlow Post*, 11 June 1859.

(3) *Carlow Sentinel*, 24 June 1865.

(4) In *The Letters of Rev. James Maher D.D. with a Memoir* edited by Patrick Francis (Cardinal) Moran, Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1877 there are almost no references to politics and the name of Acton does not appear but the following extract referring to the return of Mr. Owen Lewis for Carlow Borough in 1874 is significant: 'Mr. Lewis was triumphantly returned and Father Maher was exceedingly consoled by the reflection that, as in his long career he had occasionally been befooled by political adventurers, God had sent to Carlow before he died a member of such honour, high principles and integrity' op. cit. p. civ.

fact that should the government be defeated he would be unable to maintain a stable administration. So much was publicly admitted in the House of Commons by the Rt. Hon. Spencer Walpole when a motion of his on the budget resolutions was treated by Palmerston as a question of confidence (5). Accordingly the stress and strain of the parliamentary session was by no means as severe as in one where the respective whips were constantly kept on their job, and Acton was enabled to treat his membership not in any sense as a trust or a duty but rather as that of a very pleasant political club to be attended or avoided as the spirit moved him.

An analysis of the work he did in parliament, so far as it can be made, shows him, through family relationships, to have been offered great opportunities of which he took little advantage. Unfortunately *Hansard* for the period only gives the division lists on the very rarest and most important occasions and although these divisions are frequently those of special importance to a Roman Catholic member nevertheless the name of Acton is too often conspicuous by its absence. In 48 division lists Acton's name appears 27 times. In 1859 he cast his first vote, on the Queen's speech, and the Palmerston government was established in power by 323 votes to 310, the largest division of the whole session (6). In the following year his name appears three times in the eight divisions for which the names are recorded. He voted for extending the franchise (7), but he was absent from the division on the Ballot Bill which was of decisive importance to Ireland and to his constituents (8). He also failed to vote on the Endowed Schools Bill which by extending certain rights to Dissenters might have opened the way for similar rights for Roman Catholics (9). In all years he seems to have attended the key divisions on the budget resolutions and in 1860 and 1861 he voted three times out of the four possible recorded occasions on the Repeal of the Paper Duties (10). From the local Carlow papers it can be discovered that he voted in favour of an English Reform Bill though the majority of Irish members were opposed to its consideration prior to the passage of Irish and Scottish Bills (11).

In 1861 his average was somewhat better as his name appears on four out of seven possible occasions. He favoured the extension of the County franchise (12) but did not vote on the Borough franchise though he did in 1865 after his name had been a second time missing in 1864 (13). His name in 1861 does not appear in two divisions which were again of importance to the special interests he represented — the Irish and the Roman

(5) *Hansard* 3s. clxvii. June 3, 1862.

(6) *Hansard* 3s. cliv. June 10, 1859.

(7) *Hansard* 3s. clx. June 7, 1860.

(8) *Hansard* 3s. clvii. March 20, 1860.

(9) *Hansard* 3s. clvii. March 21, 1860.

(10) *Hansard* 3s. clvii. March 12 & May 8, 1860; clxiii. May 30, 1861.

(11) *Carlow Post*, 9 16 June, 1860.

(12) *Hansard* 3s. clxi. March 1, 1861;.

(13) *Hansard* 3s. clxii. April 10, 1861; 3s. clxxv. May 11, 1864; 3s. clxxviii. May 8, 1865.

Catholic. He failed to vote on the Trustees of Charities Bill, which aimed at the admission of Trustees who were not members of the Church of England (14); and on the Marriage Law Amendment Bill which hoped to smooth out differences between the marriage law of England, Scotland and Ireland (15). The local papers record his failure to vote on Isaac Butts' motion for a system of Irish National Education suitable for all classes, a motion for a system of Irish National Education suitable for all classes, a motion naturally extensively supported by the Irish members yet only 40 out of 105 voted (16). He also failed to vote on a project for extending Volunteer Corps to Ireland proposed by Colonel Fitzstephen French; in this division only 18 Irish members recorded their votes (17).

In 1862 only two lists have been noted and his name appears in both but, as will be shown in discussing his membership of various select committees, one would not be justified in presuming that he was taking his parliamentary duties more seriously. He continued to support the financial policy of the government (18), this was on the second vote of confidence already referred to, and he voted for a Church Rates Abolition Bill, having missed a division on a similar subject in 1860, and voting against an alternative solution in 1865. He apparently wished to see these rates abolished without compensation, and when compensation was proposed in 1865 he withdrew his support. On no occasion was the Bill passed during the lifetime of this parliament (19).

Acton's name appears on two of the five possible occasions in 1863, but, although he opposed a motion from the extreme Protestant party for an enquiry into the Maynooth grants (20) he failed to vote on the Affirmations Bill intended to relieve tender consciences other than Roman Catholic, and thereby to widen the catchment of consent. In 1864, when his name appears in ten of the thirteen lists, he gave four out of the five votes he cast at various times in favour of the Abolition of the Tests at Oxford (21). He supported the foreign policy of the government in connexion with the bombing of the Japanese town of Kagosima (22) but he was against government on a motion involving a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, James Stansfield, in an Italian plot for the assassination of the French Emperor Napoleon III. As the result of the vote Stansfield, who obviously was not personally implicated, was compelled to resign, though he afterwards had a most distinguished political career (23). In the same year Lowe, the Vice-

(14) *Hansard* 3s. clxii. April 17, 1861.

(15) *Hansard* 3s. clxii. April 17, 1861.

(16) *Carlton Post*, 21 July, 1860.

(17) *Carlton Post*, 4 August, 1860.

(18) *Hansard* 3s. clxvii. June 3, 1862.

(19) *Hansard* 3s. clxvi. May 14, 1862; clvii. March 28, 1860; clxxix, May 10, 1865

(20) *Hansard* 3s. clxxi. June 2, 1863.

(21) *Hansard* 3s. clxxiv. March 16, 1864; clxxvi. July 1, 1864; clxxx. June 14, 1865.

(22) *Hansard* 3s. clxxiii. Feb. 9, 1864.

(23) *Hansards* 3s. clxxiv. March 17, 1864; Stansfield became P.C. & G.C.B. and was a member of several cabinets.

President of the Privy Council in charge of Education, was also compelled to resign as the result of an adverse vote of a small house (101-93) on a motion regarding the Mutilation of Inspectors Reports which had an underlying religious significance. On this occasion Acton voted in favour of the Minister (24). He gave one further vote on foreign affairs when he opposed the Cabinet policy of non-intervention in the war between Prussia and Denmark. This was a major division which government only carried by eighteen votes (313-295) and the Commons came to the opposite conclusions to that of the Lords where, by the use of proxies, Acton's view was approved (25). In this year also he defended his co-religionists by voting against a Select Committee to enquire into St. Mary's Private Burying Ground, Sydenham and the Order of St. Philip Neri (26) but in 1865 he failed to turn up to oppose an enquiry, which was refused by 106-79, into the existence, character and increase of Monastic or Conventual Establishments and Societies in Great Britain (27).

In 1865 his name appears in five out of twelve division lists. He was with the majority of 67 (193-126) who supported the Roman Catholic Oaths Bill and who desired especially to excise the following words from the legal form: «and I do hereby disclaim, disavow and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in this Kingdom» (28). In this year he was not so careful to attend on the Budget resolutions and although for four years a member of the Select Committee on the Poor Relief he was absent for one of two divisions on the Union Chargeability Bill (29). In the third case of a parliamentary vote forcing the resignation of a Minister, this time of the Lord Chancellor — Westbury, implicated in charges of nepotism, Acton failed to vote (30).

At the election of 1865 Acton was elected for Bridgnorth by one vote and his name appears on the roll of the House of Commons as amended to February 1, 1866 (31). On the 22 March of the same year an election committee reported as follows: «That Sir John Emerick (sic) Dalberg

(24) *Hansard* 3s. clxxiv. April 12, 1864.

(25) *Hansard* 3s. clxxvi. July 8, 1864; As one result of this opposition to the government he was theoretically supposed to support the *Carlton Sentinel* 16 July, 1864 announced the rumour that, anticipating a dissolution, the local liberal leaders were in communication with a certain «political adventurer» who had suffered defeat in a neighbouring borough but being connected with certain banking and commercial interests «makes him peculiarly eligible and attractive in the eyes of a disinterested clique, who appear heartily tired of their late choice, and are now on the look out for a man of «more attractive metal to replace the Shropshire Baronet». The *Sentinel* was confident that the Carlton liberals were tired of absentees.

(26) *Hansard* 3s. clxxiv. April 8, 1864.

(27) *Hansard* 3s. clxxvii. March 3, 1865.

(28) *Hansard* 3s. clxxix. May 30, 1865.

(29) *Hansard* 3s. clxxviii. March 23, 1865; clxxix. May 15, 1865.

(30) *Hansard* 3s. clxxx. July 4, 1865.

(31) *Hansard* 3s. clxxxi.

Acton, baronet, is not duly elected a burgess to serve in this present parliament for the Borough of Bridgnorth.

« That Henry Whitmore, esquire, is duly elected, and ought to have been returned a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Bridgnorth.

« And the said determination was ordered to be entered in the Journal of this House.

« House further informed that the Committee had altered the poll taken at such election by striking off the name of William Edwards, as not having had a right to vote at such election; also of Mark Philip Lee, it having been proved that he had received money for the purpose of influencing his vote:

« House further informed that the Committee had agreed to the following resolution:

« That it was proved to the Committee that the said Mark Philip Lee had been bribed with the payment of £4 by Charles Selby Bigge, under the pretext of travelling expenses; but that it was not proved that such bribery was committed with the knowledge or consent of the said Sir John E. D. Acton or his Agents » (32).

The name of Henry Whitmore was thereupon substituted, and he was sworn and took his seat the same day, being the eighth of his family to be M.P. for the Borough of Bridgnorth (33). During the period of the enquiry Acton's name does not appear in either of the division lists recorded although they were both of special concern to him — the Habeas Corpus Suspension (Ireland) Bill (34) and the Church Rates Abolition Bill (35). His admitted and reported expenses at this election in which he was unseated amounted to more than those of his opponents combined:— £699.13.11 against £336.15.10 for John Pritchard who headed the poll and £296.11.3 for Henry Whitmore who was ultimately successful (36). Of course what the **real** expenses were there is little chance of knowing.

Not merely was Acton a poor attender at the House but he never intervened in debate, not even on foreign policy, although during the period as Editor or Contributor to the **Rambler** and the **Home and Foreign Review** he contributed some 475 pages of articles and 77 pages of current events, the latter entirely and the former to a considerable degree concerned with the subject of foreign affairs (37). In six years he asked two questions and answered one. His subjects were: The Condition of the Roman States, May

(32) *Hansard* 3s. clxxxii. March 22, 1866.

(33) *Burke's Landed Gentry*. (1939 ed.)

(34) *Hansard* 3s. clxxxii. Feb. 17, 1866.

(35) *Hansard* 3s. clxxxii. March 7, 1866.

(36) *Parliamentary Papers*. 1866. Vol. 56. No. 363.

(37) Lally, T.A. : *As Lord Acton Says*. Newport, U.S.A. 1942. p. 50.

4, 1860; Catholic Inmates of Prisons, May 7, 1861; Inspection of Roman Catholic Schools, April 11, 1862 (38). On the treatment of the Catholic inmates of Prisons he gave notice of a motion in the 1860 session and in the following year another Irish Member, Mr. E. McEvoy (Co. Meath) enquired as to when he intended to bring forward the motion. Sir John's answer was that he was awaiting the result of an analogous enquiry into the treatment of Catholic inmates of workhouses (39). In fairness to Acton it should, of course, be remembered that the number of questions and questioners in the 1860s was far fewer than in the parliaments of today. At the commencement of the particular parliament under discussion the number of daily questions rarely exceeded ten and was often very much less; though towards the end of its lifetime there was a persistent and considerable increase.

A parliamentary activity on which members may spend a considerable proportion of their time and do very useful and often unpublicized work is membership of the various select committees. During his parliamentary career Acton was appointed to three; to two in the normal course of duty and to one obviously because of his European and cosmopolitan background. At none was he more than an adequate attender and in none does he appear to have exercised a really effective influence. Service in committee was an essential means to close and friendly intellectual contact, not only with members of one's own party but also with the opposition, and many a parliamentary reputation has been made in Committee which would never have been made in the House. In the average session of this parliament's lifetime approximately one-third of the House was appointed to membership of one or more select committees; ranging from 142 out of 654 in the short session of 1859 to 305 in that of 1861 (40). All Acton's appointments were made in 1861 but one committee, that enquiring into the Administration of the English Poor Law, was re-appointed in each of the three following years, the report being signed in 1864 and Acton therefore obtains the credit of service in four years out of six. Very few members failed to serve on any committee. Of those who sat through the entire parliament about 23 were never appointed. When the parliamentary report asserts that 100 members of the 1859-1865 parliament did not serve, of whom 26 were re-elected in 1866, it must be remembered that very few of

(38) There is an amusing discrepancy between the bare factual question recorded by *Hansard* and the additional words to be found in the *Carlow Post* April 19, 1862 : «Moreover I feel bound to do so (ask the Question) as representing a large and important Catholic Constituency, the Borough of Carlow» (Hear ! Hear !).

(39) *Hansard* 3s. clxii. May, 7 1861.

(40) *Parliamentary Papers* : 1859 (S. 2) Vol. 16. No. 159 ; 1860 Vol. 56. No. 43 ; 1861 Vol. 50, 457 ; 1862 Vol. 44, 205 ; 1863 Vol. 48, 43 ; 1864 Vol. 48, 99 1865 Vol. 44, 417.

(41) *P. P.* 1866 Vol. 51.1.

this hundred were M.P.s for more than a short period; some died, several came in at bye-elections, others succeeded to or received peerages, and some few resigned.

In the Select Committee to which the Births, Deaths and Marriages (Ireland) Bill and the Registration of Births (Ireland) Bill were referred, ordered on April 15, 1861 and appointed on the 29th. of the same month with the Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell as Chairman, Acton took very little part. He was certainly a silent and unimportant member (42). The Select Committee to enquire into the Constitution and Efficiency of the Present Diplomatic Service of this Country was both more important and more interesting. Ordered on March 8, 1861 and appointed on the 15th, it included among its members both Benjamin Disraeli and Lord John Russell; the Chairman was the Rt. Hon. Richard Monckton Milnes, later Baron Houghton, and evidence was heard from several who had held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Although he only attended one half of the meetings, 9 out of 18, Acton did ask some 20 to 30 questions, and it is obvious from the voting on the draft report, which suffered severe handling before approval, that he had a considerable share in its preparation even if his handiwork was ineffective. The report was in a sense revolutionary and certainly timely. The committee recommended the establishment of an entrance examination which might be in two parts. They thought that the position of unpaid attachés was most unsatisfactory; in future the maximum period without payment should they recommended be not more than four years, after which graded pensionable appointments should be made. The four years should include at least six months service in the Foreign Office and they recommended that, at all grades, the possibility of interchange between service abroad and at the Foreign Office should be envisaged. They also thought that Ambassadors and Ministers should have increased leave of absence; that embassies and missions should own their own buildings; and that the salaries and allowances at the larger missions should be increased.

Acton desired further reformation than his colleagues would support. He favoured no person entering before 21 or after 25 but was defeated 6-4; he favoured an annual examination and the appointment of the first twelve candidates but was overwhelmed 9-2; he supported a two years unpaid attachéship instead of four but lost 8-3; he wished to see permanent archivists at each mission, these were to rank between the attachés and the secretaries, this proposal was lost by 7-3; finally, he recommended specific salaries for the highest appointments, £12,000 per annum for the Ambassador at Paris, £9,000 each for those at Vienna and St. Petersburg, in these suggestions he was defeated by 10 votes to 1. As all these proposals had been included in the draft report and as their general principles were adopted in after years Acton definitely performed a useful service in his contribution to the labours of this select committee. His questions too were

(42) P. P. 1861 Vol. 14.13.

enlightened. He was interested in the importance of English as a diplomatic language, and he was very inquisitive regarding the respective merits of the British and Foreign diplomatic services, the calibre of their personnel and especially, the quality of their handwriting; he also made enquiries regarding the connexion between Diplomatic, Consular and Commercial Affairs (43).

The Select Committee on Poor Relief encountered a much more serious and lengthy task than those on Irish Births, Deaths and Marriages and on the Diplomatic Service. The Irish Committee met eleven times in less than three months and completed its report, the Diplomatic Committee eighteen times in four months, but the Poor Relief Committee held eighty one meetings in something over three years before presenting its conclusions. Appointed on the 22nd. April 1861, the Select Committee was re-appointed, at its own request, on March 27, 1862, June 19, 1863 and February 24, 1864. Obviously something went wrong in 1863 the members being re-appointed so late in the session that they held only one meeting, at which Acton was present, and at which the sole resolution recommended the re-constitution of the Select Committee early in the following session. In the first year Acton attended 21 or 22 meetings out of 34; in 1862 only 4 or 5 out of 30; in 1863 the only meeting that was held; and in 1864 11 meetings out of 16. Except in the session of 1864 when it was increased by one there were 21 members of the committee of which the Rt. Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers was Chairman (44). The average attendance in 1861 was 13, ranging from a maximum of 18 to a minimum of 7; as the session progressed the monthly attendances declined, 13,475 questions were asked of the various witnesses, not more than 20 of them by Sir John Acton and those almost all on minor points connected with Irish Poor resident in England. To his co-religionists, Sir George Bowyer and Lord Edward Howard, he left the protection of Roman Catholic interests which occupied a good deal of the committee's time; Acton was not even present at the second part of the examination of the principal Roman Catholic witness, the Rev. John Morris, whose interrogation was almost entirely in the hands of Bowyer and Howard. It took six reports to cover the proceedings of the first year. At the final sessional meeting, which was held on July 25, 1861, with only nine member present, a proposal was made that the committee should continue its enquiries during the recess, Acton was one of the four who opposed the motion which was defeated by the use of the Chairman's casting vote.

Three reports were issued to cover the Select Committee's activities in 1862 when 9,345 questions were asked of the witnesses, making 22,820

(43) P. P. 1861 Vol. 6.1.

(44) P. P. 1864 Vol. 349.187 gives the final report. Unfortunately as regards statistics and attendances there are discrepancies between the lists in the minutes of evidence, in the interim reports and in the final documents. The interim reports are : P. P. 1861 Vol. 9. Nos. 1 ; 199 ; 405 ; 607 ; 731 ; 831. P.P. 1862 Vol. 10. Nos. 1 ; 183 ; 417. P. P. 1863 Vol. 7. 459.

in all. Acton attended twice in March, twice in April and once in June, and as far as is recorded made no significant contribution to the proceedings. Reference has already been made to his one hundred per cent attendance in 1863; in 1864 the sixteen meetings were concerned with the preparation of the report. The entire committee, including Acton, attended somewhat better than previously, and the average attendance was over 14; for the four meetings in March it averaged more than 17. The chief conclusions of the committee were: (i) That in times of distress charity is not enough: it may be sufficient but it generally lacks organization. (ii) A Central National Poor Law Authority should be established which, among other things, would control the dismissal of officials by the Boards of Guardians. (iii) They recommended that cod-liver oil, quinine and other expensive medicines should be provided at the expense of the Guardians, subject to the orders and regulations of the Poor Law Board. (iv) They suggested many religious provisions to protect the rights of those children who were not members of the Church of England by birth. (v) They would encourage workhouse children being sent outside to school but would not make the practice compulsory.

It is reasonably obvious that Acton was not enamoured of committee service and that only a certain feeling of responsibility to his fellow members ensured any interest. He proved a disappointment to Cardinal Manning and the official leaders of English Roman Catholicism because he took so little part in the public activities of the House; he must have grieved his Granville and whig relatives that he was equally ineffective in these less publicized activities; it but remains to record how the burgesses of Carlow reacted to their little-known member and what services he offered in return for his election.

When criticism, justified by modern standards, is turned on Acton's sense of duty to his constituents it must be stressed that he carefully refrained from any extravagant pledge or promise in the course of the one and only authoritative public pronouncement made in Carlow just after the election. But if he was in every sense of the term a very ordinary house of Commons backbencher, from the point of view of performance his standard was definitely even lower as representative of the people of Carlow. The two semi-political issues which aroused most local interest during his representation of the borough were the Papal Encyclical condemning modern political and philosophical errors and the question of the Galway contract.

The Galway contract should have been a mere matter of economic and business principles but it became a national problem. On the map Galway is the nearest British port to the United States but in the 1860s there was not enough Irish traffic to maintain any reasonable kind of service across the Atlantic, it was therefore dependent on goods and passengers who had transhipped the fifty miles from Holyhead to Kingstown. The traffic was in English goods, Connaught had only one export-men. All were agreed in favour of the economic revival of Connaught but Galway was not a good

harbour and had to compete with Cork and Derry. As well when the line had been opened the ships were not able to perform what had been promised and every crossing resulted in heavy fines. « The Columbia has just arrived from Boston with 33 passengers — that is to say about half the complement of a single second class compartment on the Great Western Railway. Cargo she had none, and she took fifteen days instead of ten to cross the Atlantic with this load... Not even the large subsidy given by the Imperial Exchequer could keep such a line going without traffic... Until Ireland has developed a traffic of its own Galway cannot become the port the Irish wish it to be » (45).

On the Galway contract the government would have been defeated in 1861 had it not been for the treachery of 15 of the Irish M.P.s, including Acton, who voted with them although they thereby placed the contract in jeopardy. Palmerston had thrown in the apple of discord by suggesting that if government had a chance of cancelling the contract Cork, Limerick and Waterford might have as good opportunity as Galway. Eight of the Irish liberals had the courage to vote against the government (46) and when the Lord of the Treasury, who acted as Irish Whip, resigned as a result the government found it almost impossible to replace him (47). Each year arguments broke out anew and though Acton had the laws of political economy on his side, the real problem was whether there was to be an Irish transatlantic packet station at all and on that Irishmen of all creeds and parties were united (48). In 1861 the Carlow Town Commissioners had unanimously petitioned government on the subject (49) so Acton was in no doubt as to local feeling and, in any case, had voted in 1860 for the extension of the contract though, in that year, the attack on its validity was based on the methods by which it had been obtained, corruption being alleged (50). When 1865 came he had so far compromised himself by voting once each way that he had « also managed to be «accidentally» absent from the House when the most important division, as far as this country is concerned, took place during his whole parliamentary career — the division on the Galway packet question ! » (51).

If he proved unsatisfactory to Irish interests on this question of a transatlantic mail service neither was his Catholicity as extreme as his constituents demanded. Soon after his election he showed himself wanting in this respect. It had been announced in the *Freeman's Journal* that he was

(45) *Carlow Sentinel* Feb. 20, 1864. (Quoting an article in the «Times»).

(46) *Carlow Sentinel* June 1 & 8, 1861.

(47) *Carlow Sentinel* June 15, 1861. John Bagwell (M. P. for Clonmell) resigned and was succeeded in the following year by Col. Luke White M.P. for Longford, where he was defeated on appointment, but was subsequently elected for Kidderminster 1862-5. He succeeded as 2nd. Baron Annaly in 1873.

(48) *Carlow Sentinel* Jan. 24 & Aug. 22, 1863 ; *Carlow Post* May 25, 1861.

(49) *Carlow Post* June 8, 1861.

(50) *Carlow Post* August 11, 1860.

(51) *Carlow Sentinel* June 24, 1865.

to address a meeting to express sympathy with the Pope over Italian and Roman conditions on January 1, 1860 but he failed to turn up to advocate support for the Irish Brigade. «He is the step-son of the Lord President of the Council and as blood runs thicker than water he naturally prefers the interests of his step-father to those of the Holy Father » (52).

Neither in Great Britain nor abroad did Sir John take any part in the activities associated with sympathy for Papal difficulties during the years when Italian nationalism was finding in Pius IX its principal and forceful enemy. When he was condemned for his support of the whigs by a barrister named Weloch in a letter to the *Connaught Tribune* the *Carlow Sentinel* disowned the member it had always opposed in a forceful leading article: «We beg to remind our learned friend (Mr. P. R. Welch was a former resident in Carlow) that out of the fifteen «Catholic Members» there is one, the member for the borough of Carlow, who actually represents none but his patron, Father Maher. He is never heard of an although supposed to represent an important mercantile borough he is as much acquainted with the interests of a commercial community as a resident in Nova Scotia entitled to vote by proxy». The editor went on to ask why Carlow was not represented by an Irish ultramontane Roman Catholic? «... not a stepson of Lord Granville... not a placehunter... an Englishman was preferred — yea, a cold aristocrat who despises tho mob that shouted for him in the courthouse... What renders the inconsistency of Sir John Acton's reverend patrons the more glaring is the fact that he never appeared at any of those meetings convened to defend the alleged rights of Pius IX. He never uttered a word on the subject. How could he without forfeiting the friendship of Earl Granville, the Lord President of the Council?... the patronage of the borough at the late election may be said to be vested in the Roman Catholic priesthood as an appanage which could not be overlooked... (Sir John) bound himself to no definite policy... He was a young man unknown to fame, a blank in the political world. He was suddenly pitchforked into parliament. He is there now *pro tem* and we will do him the justice of stating that no young gentleman ever entered the House of Commons who pays so little regard to the wishes, feelings or interests of a constituency whether Conservative or Liberal » (53).

The tone of the extract is the general tone of *Sentinel* editorials throughout Acton's parliamentary career and that justification existed can be inferred from the rare occasions on which the *Post* comes to the defence of its own candidate or indeed refers to him at all. At the time of his single visit to Carlow Acton is described as a young man who «presents very much the appearance of an ecclesiastic belonging to some religious order » (54) but the welcome was hardly that for a christian ecclesiastic: «the

(52) *Carlow Sentinel* January 7, 1860.

(53) *Carlow Sentinel* May 25, 1861.

(54) *Carlow Sentinel* June 4, 1859.

inhabitants seem engaged in the celebration of one of the Greek festivals in honour of Bacchus ».

On only one occasion were Sir John's pro-Catholic activities in England brought emphatically before the electors of Carlow and the particular speech and the resulting editorial in the *Carlow Post* proved something of a boomerang. In 1864 Acton was a principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Roman Catholics of Dudley. « The exposition of Catholic feeling, Catholic principles and the relative duties and obligations of Catholics to the respective religious denominations forming the various sections of her Majesty's subjects in these realms, could not be surpassed in clearness of enunciation and delicacy of idea and expression... » On the Roman Catholic faith the writer in the *Post* asserted the speech to be: « the most forcible and argumentative, is also the most moderate, rational and liberal, in the widest acceptance of the term that we have ever heard or perused. » The *Post* concludes by expressing its pleasure that there were English Roman Catholic laymen like Sir John Acton and Lord Edward Howard to speak up for their co-religionists although surrounded by Protestants (55).

On December 8 of the same year the Pope issued, in conjunction with the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, his famous syllabus enumerating the errors of the age. Explicitly or implicitly much that the *Post* had approved in Acton's speech was herein condemned. At the time of the promulgation of the Encyclical Acton was living in Rome and it was widely rumoured that he refused to sign an address of congratulations to the Pope from the English residents « and avowed as a reason, his positive disapproval of the objectionable Encyclical doctrine » (56). In a further document *Invito Sacro* (Invitation to Jubilee) the doctrines were reiterated with the additional assertion that anyone who did not believe and receive them was excommunicate. The Pope declared the duty of the State « to coerce violators of the Catholic religion by authorized penalties » and that liberty of conscience and liberty of worship are mere delirium and liberty of thought the liberty of perdition (57). The *Sentinel* for once felt called upon to congratulate the honourable Baronet for his stand in Rome but then raised the question of whether the orthodox Roman Catholics of Carlow would vote for an excommunicated person. It was immediately rumoured that he was about to retire in favour of a discarded suitor for a Kerry

(55) *Carlow Post* Feb. 13, 1864. England sent only one R.C. member to parliament Lord Edward Fitzalan Howard, created Baron Howard of Glossop 1869 when Acton was raised to the peerage. He was M.P. for Arundel, a family borough of the Norfolk Dukedom. The only reason it had been spared by Disraeli in his Reform Bill was to give English Roman Catholics one vote — « but if fancy franchises were to go then it would disappear. » *Carlow Post* Feb. 11, 1865.

(56) *Carlow Sentinel* March 18, 1865.

(57) *Carlow Sentinel* Jan. 21, 1865.

borough — Mc Kenna (58) — but instead the latter went to Youghal (59). The reply of the *Post* to these religious worries appeared in the next week's issue: « If the Catholics of Carlow have, on several occasions had an ultra-Protestant representative in Parliament we do not well see why they should reject Sir John Acton even though he should, on some points not vitally affecting the fundamental doctrines of his church, hold opinions somewhat at variance with the majority of his co-religionists. The electors of this borough having, on several occasions, swallowed a Protestant camel, why should they now strain at a Catholic gnat, even though it be not at all perfection » (60). To compare the sitting member with a gnat shows how luke-warm was the article and it was soon widely known that Father Maher and his liberal supporters were looking for another candidate. The news was first published in the Dublin press (61) but was pronounced premature by the *Carlow Post* (62). But if Acton's own inactivity prevented his re-election he had the opportunity to sever his connexion with the borough on a question of principle rather than of capacity. In January 1865 a committee of the National Association of Ireland issued an address to the public making three major points, support of which was to be essential for holding public office, and suggesting pledges to be taken both by members of parliament and by their electors. All voters were to be asked to sign a statement: « That we hereby declare that we will vote for no candidate who will not pledge himself to support in parliament the three following measures, viz. compensation for improving tenants, the disendowment of the established church in Ireland and free education for all denominations, and who will not further pledge himself to act in opposition to any administration which will not promote one at least of the two measures first mentioned » (62). It is unlikely that the Acton who made no promises in 1859 would be willing to bind himself so categorically in 1865 and all of Catholic Ireland was behind the demand. 24 of the Irish Hierarchy signed the summons to the aggregate meeting at the Dublin Rotunda on December 29, 1864, 7 were present and 4 spoke (63); the entire Irish press was filled with argument; all the possible English candidates, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, looking for Irish seats expressed themselves

(58) *Carlow Sentinel* March 18, 1865.

(59) *Carlow Sentinel* April 1, 1865. At the ensuing election McKenna defeated the sitting member for Youghal — Isaac Butt — by 125-30. Sir Joseph Neale McKenna sat for Youghal 1865-8 and 1874-85 and for South Monaghan 1885-92 Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland*, 1912 ed.

(60) *Carlow Post* March 25, 1865.

(61) *Saunders's Newsletter* June 26, 1865. « Since his election Sir John has completely lost favour with his constituents, so much so that it is scarcely supposed he will again seek their suffrages ».

(62) *Carlow Post* Jan. 14 & Feb. 4, 1865. The manifesto was signed by Peter Paul MacSwiney, Chairman; John B. Dillon and R. J. Devitt, Secretaries.

(63) *Carlow Post* Dec. 31, 1864.

forcibly. Acton remained silent and soon other names were before the people of Carlow even though no formal withdrawal took place (64).

Whether he likes it or not a member of parliament is compelled to nurse his constituency by subscriptions to local charities, by small attentions to local voters. For these duties Acton had neither the inclination nor, perhaps, the money. Not merely is his name conspicuously absent from local subscription lists but public attention is drawn to that absence (65). In the Carlow papers for all the years studied his name only appears once as a donor when in 1862 the *Post* could announce: « We feel much pleasure in publishing the following letter from Sir J. D. Acton, M.P. which accompanied a munificent contribution of £25 for the relief of the poor of Carlow and Craigue. » The letter concluded: « If you will have the goodness to send me a few lines to inform me whether matters are improving or growing worse I shall take it as a particular favour » (66).

In 1864 the *Carlow Post* chanced to refer to « the magnificent and hospitable mansion (Aldenham) where the honourable member and worthy baronet spends his frequent vacations and accidental (*Sentinel* italics) retirements from the cares of public duty » and gave the *Sentinel* opportunity to reiterate the opinions it had expressed previously on Sir John's relations with his constituents: « Few, if any, as report goes, of his most ardent admirers in the Borough have ever got beyond the hall door of his town residence in London, and the functionary who did duty there was not exactly the person to whose ears they could confide their wants and wishes » (67). This extract summarizes a complaint first made as early as January 1860 when the *Sentinel* recorded that, shortly after his election,

(64) The principal candidates were James Arthur Dease, a Westmeath Landowner who followed completely the line of the National Association and Osborne Stock, a London Protestant liberal, who succeeded Acton in the representation although not so subservient as Dease to the new society. The rules of the National Association were published in the *Freeman's Journal* of June 24, 1865 : — (i) The Association pledges itself to the policy of complete parliamentary independence and the electors shall in all cases be urged to bind their representatives not only to vote for all the objects of the association but also to oppose any government which shall not incorporate with its policy or otherwise efficiently support a satisfactory measure of tenant compensation — that measure being deemed one of pressing urgency and paramount importance. (ii) That as it is impossible to give an honest and efficient advocacy in parliament to measures and at the same time to incur personal obligations to a Minister who is opposed to those measures, the electors should bind their representatives to accept no place or honour for themselves and incur no personal obligations to a Minister who shall not support a satisfactory measure of tenant compensation. (iii) That there should be an understanding between the electors and their representatives that the latter should take counsel together, so as to secure a general uniformity of policy and a combined action for the ends of the association ».

(65) He declined to enter into correspondence with the committee appointed to get up a regatta on the River Barrow : — « in truth it might be well said that the hon. member is as much a stranger to the borough as if he were a native of Stockholm. . . » *Carlow Sentinel* Jan. 7, 1860. He again failed to subscribe in the summer of 1860 when his defeated opponent, John Alexander, and one of the county members both did. *Carlow Sentinel* August 4, 1860.

(66) *Carlow Post* Feb. 8, 1862. The letter was dated from Aldenham on February 1,

(67) *Carlow Sentinel* Feb. 27, 1864. The article is entitled : « Sir J. Acton's Bottle-holders ».

to recognize them until they announced their names, then after a desultory conversation politely bowed them out and bid them good morning. « Perhaps he felt under no obligation to the electors. He may have considered, Father Maher being his political sponsor, that he was his chosen some of Acton's « Liberal » supporters called on him in London. He failed representative » (68). His general attitude has been well set out by Archbishop Mathew: « He early possessed a familiar intercourse with the great and a contemptuous knowledge of those who gained by devious paths the intimacy of politicians. The climber and political middleman was a type distasteful to him; he was not a man who reined in his contempt » (69).

When the election of 1865 came it was obvious to both sides that « a fit and proper representative » should be « a man who can be seen and spoken to when required » rather than « one who would make it his business to have no further contact with the borough than that of being its nominal representative » (70). More than a year before the election the *Sentinel* had thrown down a challenge to Acton which he failed to take up. Describing the way this perfect stranger had been foisted on the borough and his failure to turn up for the election it went on « when the « dirty work » was done for the first, and, we may fearlessly say for the last time (he) made his triumphal entrance into Carlow » (71). With so much time in hand Acton made no attempt to better his chances and the *Sentinel* by election time could write him off: « Sir John Acton obviously does not care « three rows of pins » about the interests of our town or country. As a matter of course his duped supporters now set about the same value upon his devoted head and heart, a fact which the shrewd Englishman appears to see clearly, as he does not intend to go through the matter of form of returning thanks for the honours forced upon him » (72).

Separation from Carlow was evidently by mutual consent. Once the new candidate had been chosen there is no single reference to Acton in the liberal newspaper until he has been elected for Bridgnorth. Naturally he did not get off so lightly in the conservative press where his shortcomings and sins of omission were prime weapons in the unsuccessful armoury against Osborne Stock: « a black stranger to the electors of this borough. Amongst his other qualifications he appears to be an Englishman — at least by adoption — and if elected would in all probability return to Cavendish Square, London to imitate the worthy example of the sitting member and laugh in his sleeve at his duped constituents » (73).

(68) *Carlow Sentinel* Jan. 7, 1860.

(69) Mathew, D. *Acton : The Formative Years*. London : 1946 p. 4.

(70) *Carlow Sentinel* July 1, 1865.

(71) *Carlow Sentinel* Feb. 13, 1864.

(72) *Carlow Sentinel* June 24, 1865. The announcement that Acton was not seeking re-election appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* June 23, 1865.

(73) *Carlow Sentinel* July 1, 1865.

When we consider the sincerity of Acton's confidence in an unchanging moral standard we must believe that were he alive today he would be compelled wholeheartedly to condemn the attitude of the member for Carlow Borough between 1859 and 1865 both to his duties and to his responsibilities; others, wiser perhaps, admitting a historical relativity in these matters will regard him as a typical specimen from the leisured aristocracy concerned with politics more from duty than desire. Contrast the criticism of the Carlow Sentinel: «...we will do him (Acton) the justice of stating that no young gentleman ever entered the House of Commons who pays so little regard to the wishes, feelings or interests of a constituency whether Conservative or Liberal » (74), with the standard asserted years before by that Edmund Burke for whom Acton professed such abounding admiration: « It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. » Acton's attitude to his constituency supports certain generalizations concerning his career made by Archbishop Mathew: « He combined an experience of political machinery which was much wider and more sensitive than his rigid principles would at first suggest with an unparalleled knowledge (75)... few historians have betrayed less appreciation of detailed field work. Such minute application was quite foreign to his cosmopolitan far ranging mind. As a man of the study he had no feeling for village history tracing the development and descent of local land messuage by messuage » (76). In effect as a man of the study he was a quite impossible local representative.

James J. Auchmuty.

(74) *Carlow Sentinel* May 25, 1861.

(75) Mathew D. Acton : *The Formative Years*. p. 1.

(76) Mathew, D. Acton : *The Formative Years*. pp. 106-107.

CYPRUS in HELLENISTIC
and
ROMAN TIMES

O. H. E. KHS. BURMESTER

Cyprus in Hellenistic and Roman Times

In order to obtain a better understanding of the political and social conditions which prevailed in Cyprus at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it will be advisable to give a brief sketch of the Greek colonization of the Island and of the colonies which the Greek colonists founded in it.

At some period in the Late Bronze Age, approximately 1600-1100 B.C., colonists from Greece, and from Arcadia in particular, began to arrive in the island of Cyprus, and by the end of the second millennium B.C. they had established colonies in most parts of the Island. Naturally, these Greek settlements were planted along the seacoast as was usually the practice with Greek colonists in other parts of the Mediterranean, but in the case of Cyprus, Greek colonies were founded also in the interior of the Island.

From the Mycenaean remains which have been discovered on most of the ancient sites of the Island (1), we have archaeological evidence for the truth of the statements made by Pindar (2) and Theopompus (3) which ascribe the foundation of these colonies to the heroes of the Trojan War, and of the statement of Herodotus (4) which claims a Greek origin for them. A further proof of this being the period at which Greek colonies were first planted in Cyprus can be found in the Cypriot Syllabic Script which, indeed, persisted in the Island down to the end of the fourth century B.C., and shows that the colonists must have left the Peloponnesus before the introduction into Greece of the Phoenician alphabet.

In addition to this, we have further evidence that the majority of the small kingdoms of Cyprus were of Greek origin from an inscription of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, dated 673 B.C., which records the submission of ten kings of Cyprus. Nine of the names of these kings can be read as Greek names but the tenth is Phoenician (5). These kingdoms were as follows:

(1) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937 p. 365.

(2) Pindar, *Nem.* IV, 75.

(3) C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Frag. III.

(4) Herodotus, VII, 90.

(5) For Esarhaddon's Stele, cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, 690 ; and for the reading of the Greek names, cf. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 262.

Salamis, Paphos, Soli, Curium, Tamassus, Idalium, Chytri, Ledra, Nure and the Phoenician city of Karti Kadasti. It is probable that there were also at this time a further five kingdoms, and if they are not mentioned in Esarhaddon's list, their omission may be accounted for possibly on the grounds that they were not important enough to send their gifts to the Assyrian king. Of these fifteen kingdoms of Cyprus it will be seen that only four were not of Greek origin, namely the Phoenician cities of Karti Kadasti, Citium and Carpasia and the autochthonous city of Amathus.

If it is true that the culture of Cyprus was predominantly Greek, it must nevertheless be noted that it was a Greek culture of a primitive type which recalls much of Homeric Greece. Among other things, these states preserved right down to the beginning of the Hellenistic period their monarchical form of government, thus not sharing in the development of other Greek states in the rest of the Greek world. The kings of these states submitted voluntarily to Alexander the Great, and several are mentioned as taking part in the siege of Tyre in 332 B.C. (1) and all with the exception of one were confirmed in their kingdoms. On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., we find that there were in Cyprus nine kingdoms, but these, as we shall see, were not fated to survive under his Successors, the Diadochoi, as they are called.

Owing to its geographical position, the possession of Cyprus was of paramount importance for any power that wished to attack Syria, and at the same time its copper mines and its forests, the latter supplying timber for shipbuilding, made it of great economic importance. In consequence of this, Ptolemy I of Egypt and Antigonous I of Asia Minor strove to obtain control of the Island, and to this end each party sought to win over to its side the alliance of the local independent kings. This policy, however, ultimately gave the death-blow to these kingdoms, for their occupants were sooner or later accused of having treacherous relations with the other side and were either deposed or executed.

In 306 B.C. Dêmêtrius Poliorcêtês, son of Antigonous I, having totally defeated the fleet of Ptolemy I off Salamis, the principal harbour of Cyprus, obtained possession of the Island (2), but eleven years later, he was forced to abandon it to Ptolemy I (3). From now onwards, i.e. from 295 B.C. down to 58 B.C., Cyprus remained a dependency of the Ptolemaic Empire, except for three short periods, when it had independent rulers, though these, however, were members of the Ptolemaic family.

We now come to what is termed the Hellenistic period of Cyprus. For the history of Cyprus during both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods our literary sources are unfortunately practically nil, and we have therefore

(1) Arrian, *Anab.* II, 22 and Plut. *Alex.* 29 (331 B.C.).

(2) Diod. XX 47.

(3) Plut. *Demetrius*, 35.

to fall back on inscriptions, coins and archaeological remains, and here again we are handicapped by the fact that very little excavation work has been done so far on the Hellenistic and the Roman sites in the Island. One of the reasons for the lack of literary sources is undoubtedly due to the more or less uneventful history of the Island during the period in question. In studying the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, I propose to assume that, in their broadest outlines and with due regard to local requirements, the conditions in Cyprus were much the same as those which obtained in other countries of the Near East at the time, and to set forth such particulars of the social and economic life of the Island, as are furnished by the sources to which I have already referred.

To begin with, apart from some local disturbances, there are but two outstanding events in this otherwise uneventful period of the history of Cyprus. The first of these was the attack on the Island by Antiochus IV Epiphanēs of Syria in the year 168 B.C. Ptolemaeus, the governor of the Island at that time, deserted Ptolemy VI Philomētōr and went over to Antiochus, and although the Cyprians put up some resistance to the invader, Ptolemy's forces were defeated both on land and sea, and the Island was thrown into utter disorder. This condition of things, however, did not last for long, for, when Antiochus invaded Egypt, he was met by the Roman envoy at Alexandria, who forced him not only to abandon his plans for Egypt, but also to withdraw his fleet from Cyprus. The second event of importance occurred in the latter part of 143 or the early part of 142 B.C. when, owing to the loss of his footing in the Aegean, Ptolemy VII made Cyprus the headquarters of the Egyptian fleet, and a certain Crocos, the then governor of the Island, had as his first additional title that of admiral (ναύαρχος). a title also borne by the son of his successor.

As regards the administration of Cyprus under the Ptolemies, the Island was organized as a military command, the governor-general having the title of *stratēgos* (1) to which under or after Ptolemy VII (146-116 B.C.), was added that of *nauarchos* (2), as mentioned above. From the time of Ptolemy V Epiphanēs (203-181 B.C.) this governor-general had also the title of highpriest of the sanctuaries in the Island (Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν νήσον ἱερῶν). (3). Though this title may merely mean that the governor-general was *ex-officio* head of the Dynastic Cult, it seems also probable that it indicates that the exceedingly wealthy temples of Cyprus were made to contribute to the royal exchequer to a greater extent than before. These *stratēgoi* all belonged to the highest rank in the Egyptian Court, the «kinsmen» of the king. Under the *stratēgos* there was a sort of adjutant-general who

(1) *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones selectae* (W. Dittenberger), [referred to afterwards as *O.G.I.*], 84 στρατηγ[οῦ τῆς νή]σ[ου] but in inscriptions outside Cyprus στρατηγὸς τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον cf. Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. I, p. 175.

(2) ναύαρχος *O.G.I.*, 143, 145, 151-3, 155, 157-62.

(3) Mitford in *Arch. f. Pap.* XIII, p. 25.

bore the title of *grammateus* (secretary of the forces) (1), and the separate regiments had their own commanders who were usually known as *hēgemones*, or, in the case of the cavalry, *hipparchai*. Here we must note that there was a very large number of mercenary troops stationed in Cyprus at this period who seem to have been divided into regiments according to the nationality of the men; thus we have Achaeans, Ionians, Cretans and other Greeks, Lycians, Cilicians and Thracians (2). These all had their unions or *koina*, and we have a number of inscriptions of dedications made by the Union of the Cyprians (*Τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν Κυπρίων*). (3). Lastly, we have an officer who had the title of *epistatēs* who seems to have been a sort of high-commissioner with full authority to execute the orders of the sovereign power.

There also seems to be some evidence that Cyprus was divided into districts under the Ptolemies, as may be gathered from two Phoenician subscriptions of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, found at Lapêthus. According to these, the title «lord of the land of Cormi» is given to a certain Iatanbaal, and his father before him. This term «land of Cormi» seems to indicate a larger circumscription than a city territory. Cormi appears to be the same as the Greek Crommyon (*Κρόμμυον*). (4). This name was applied to the principal promontory on the north west coast of the Island. Ptolemy (5), evidently using early material (6), records a division of Cyprus into four districts, an eastern and western one under Salamis and Paphos, and a north central and south central one under Lapêthus and Amathus. These Phoenician inscriptions indicate that this arrangement dates back to the Ptolemaic period, and «Cormi» must be the Phoenician name for the north central district whose capital was Lapêthus.

The cities of Cyprus were garrisoned, and the commanding officer bore the title of *phrouarchos* (7), but this was modified later, sometime after the date of Ptolemy III, Euergetēs, to that of «he who is over (the city)» (8). In the administrative scheme of Cyprus the city was the ultimate unit (9). Lapêthus, for example, started a civic era as early as 306 B.C. (10). Evidence, however, for the republican institutions in the other cities is of much later date. The «city of the Paphians» mentioned under Ptolemy IV Philo-

(1) O.G.I., 154, ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων.

(2) O.G.I., 151, 145, 108 and 153, 146-7, 148 and 157, 143.

(3) O.G.I., 164, 165.

(4) Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV, VI, 3 and Ptolemy V, xiii, 4,

(5) Ptolemy, V, xiii, 5.

(6) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

(7) O.G.I., 20, Φρούραρχο[ς] καὶ κατὰ Κίτιον.

(8) O.G.I., 155, ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος. and D. Cohen, *De Magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum Regni provincias administrantibus*, Hague, 1912, pp. 42 ff., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως [ἡγεμὼν].

(9) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

(10) Cf. *Rev. d'Ass.*, III, pp. 72 seqq.

patôr (1), the «city of the Salaminians» under Ptolemy VI Philomêtôr (2), the «city of the Curians» (See Plate XI) and that of the Arsinoians under Ptolemy IX Euergetês II (3) Arsinoë, it should be noted, was a refoundation by Ptolemy II of Marium destroyed by Ptolemy I. From an inscription found at Chytri (4) it would seem that, when the native dynasties were suppressed, their kingdoms were broken up into their constituent cities (5). Idalium, however, remained a dependency of Citium and from the number of Phoenician inscriptions, seems to have been a thoroughly Phoenician city. Of the internal constitution of the cities very little is known, though they would seem to have had certain democratic forms of government. At Citium there is mention of a suffete or judge, the title usually borne by the chief magistrates of Phoenician cities (6) as well as a treasurer (7) For the Greek cities our evidence comes from the last days of the Ptolemaic supremacy. For example, at Paphos we have mention of magistrates, gymnasiarchs (8) and a clerk of the council and of the people (9), but the autonomy of the cities was merely formal, for each had its military governor appointed by the king, as has already been mentioned. Most of the larger cities had probably their theatres, though only those of New Paphos have so far been discovered (10). Although the government of Cyprus was in fact autocratic, it is probable that the Island was considered officially as a group of cities under the protection of the king of Egypt.

As regards the architecture of sacred and secular buildings, we must await excavation of the Hellenistic sites before we can obtain a true appreciation of the style of building of this period, but we shall probably not be very wrong in assuming that in general the liwan-type prevailed. This type of building consisting of a middle room opening on a court, with smaller rooms on either side of it, was prevalent in Anatolia and survived from the Bronze Age down to Roman times. As for building materials, stone would have been used for the foundation walls and mud bricks for the upper walls. These mud bricks were most probably of the thin tile-shaped variety such as have been found at the Palace of Vouni in Cyprus, where we have buildings dating from 500-300 B.C., and these bricks are almost of the same dimensions as the modern Cyprian mud bricks. It would seem that the dwellings of the wealthy were provided in some cases with mosaic flooring, for we have in the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia, two fine examples of such mosaics. They date from either the late Hellenistic or early Roman period

(1) O.G.I., 84, 163, 166, 172.

(2) O.G.I., 108, 156.

(3) O.G.I., 152 and 155.

(4) O.G.I., 160.

(5) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

(6) *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 47.

(7) *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 74.

(8) O.G.I., 164 τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων 165 τὸν γυμνασίαρχον.

(9) O.G.I., 166 δις γραμματεύσαντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡρχευσκότα τῆς πόλεως..... τὸν γραμματέα τῆς πόλε[ω]ς γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ β'.

(10) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *Paphos*, Nicosia, 1948, p. 21.

and have very charming designs. On one there is represented a female hunting dog treading with her paws on a partridge and the inscription «Φηρία καλή». (Good hunting). The other has a representation of a youth carrying in his raised left hand a tray full of fruit (1).

As regards the copper mines of Cyprus of which we shall have more to say when we come to the Roman period, they had been formerly the property of the Cyprian kings and were naturally taken over by their successors, the Ptolemies. They provided one of the sources of revenue of the Island, and were probably under the control of the chief financial officer. From an inscription on the basis of a statue erected at Paphos to a certain Potamon who was antistratêgos in the reign of Ptolemy X, Sôter II, we learn that he was also chief administrator of the mines (2).

In addition to the mining of copper, shipbuilding formed an important industry in Cyprus in Hellenistic times. It was apparently in Cyprus that Ptolemy II Philadelphus built two of his largest ships, a *triakonteres* and an *eikoseres*. His naval architect was a certain Pyrgoletês of whom he thought so highly that he had a statue erected to him at Paphos (3). From this we may assume that this Pyrgoletês was a Cyprian.

The principal agricultural produce of the Island was wheat and wine, and it was from Cyprus that Ptolemy III, Euergetês I, had wheat brought to Egypt when this country was suffering from a drought (4). The wine was also exported, for we have a reference to its use in the sacrifices at the Temple at Jerusalem (5),

The pottery of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period is represented by various wares, the chief of which are plain white, painted, and black and red lustrous. During the later Hellenistic and early Roman period glass became more and more popular, and it replaced pottery for many purposes. The commonest fabrics during this period were the red glazed wares known as *terra sigillata*, ware of clay with moulded or impressed decoration.

With regard to jewelry, we have examples of earrings of three types, a) a simple pendant suspended from the ear by a long hook or wire b) a simple hoop of wire with a hook-and-eye fastening concealed behind a ball, disc or rosette, and provided with a pendant c) a flat crescent with filigree or granulated work. The material of the earrings is gold (6). Necklaces are generally rope-like chains secured by ornate hook-and-eye clasps. Bracelets are rare and sometimes of bronze. Rings are plentiful with engraved stones, cornelian, sard, etc.

(1) Cf. P. Dikaïos, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia, 1947, p. 101.

(2) *O.G.I.*, 165 ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων.

(3) *O.G.I.*, 39.

(4) Cf. *The Canopus Decree* 239/8.

(5) Cf. Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 369.

(6) Cf. P. Dikaïos, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 111-112.

As regards sculpture, we may discern two periods in Hellenistic times in Cyprus. In the first which occupies the whole of the third century B.C., the productions of the Cyprian sculptors reflect the influence of the Hellenistic workshops which then supplied sculpture for the Near East. Marble statues were imported from elsewhere and copied in Cyprus; while the **philosopher** type of statue which became popular in Greece by the early third century B.C. was frequently copied in Cyprus in local limestone. In the second period which begins from the second century B.C. a local style of sculpture developed which continued down to the time of the Roman occupation of the Island. This new style appears to have resulted from the fact that the predominantly Greek art of the Hellenistic age became penetrated by the influence of Egyptian national art and was slowly absorbed by it, and this new art the Cyprian sculptors could not follow.

As examples of the **philosopher** type of statue copied in local limestone, we have two interesting statues from the sanctuary of Apollo at Vônê near Kythrea, the ancient Chytri (1). Among the marble statuary of the third century B.C. now on exhibit at the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia, there should be specially noted the following: a) the marble statue of a boy with smiling face, clad in a long **chiton** with overfold and girdle below the chest. There is a bird in his left hand and the right hand is raised, but partly missing. Provenance: Paphos (2). Children holding sacrificial birds are a favourite theme in Hellenistic art. b) the marble (perhaps Parian) statue of a sleeping Eros (See Plate I). Eros reclines on drapery spread on rocky ground with a cylindrical hole on the right side suggesting a spring. The right arm lies across the body with a kylix in the hand, and the left arm supports the head and holds a mutilated object, perhaps a torch or a bow. The face is smiling and the hair is short and wavy. The theme of sleeping Eros was also common in Hellenistic times. Provenance: New Paphos (3). c) the marble statue of the goddess Aphrodite (See Plate II). The body of the goddess rests mainly on the right leg, while the left leg advances slightly. This causes a slight bending of the body to the right and the lowering of the right arm. The attitude in general is reminiscent of the statue of Aphrodite of Cyrene. The head of the goddess is oval and slightly turned to the left, and the hair is gathered into two thick locks which frame the face, and form a knot over the forehead and end falling on the shoulder. It is not possible to say what was the position of the arms as these are broken a little below the shoulders, but the left arm appears to be directed downwards, while the right arm seems inclined to the left. On the side of both thighs there appear places of attachment of some other object, one may have been for a dolphin and drapery, as in the Cyrene Aphrodite, and the other for the accompanying figure of Eros. The representation of the goddess is realistic. She appears as a beautiful woman, probably represented in the act of stepping into her bath, and suddenly attracted by a spectator's

(1) Cf. P. Dikaïos, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

(2) Exhibit Pedestal 4A, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia.

(3) Exhibit Pedestal 10, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia.

gaze (1) Provenance: This statue was found by a villager at Soli in 1901, but the original place of discovery is not known. It may, however, have belonged to the temple of Aphrodite-Isis that existed at Soli (2).

For the coinage of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period we have evidence for three definite mints at the cities of Paphos, Salamis and Citium. The mint mark of these three cities first appears in the heavy gold coinage issued under Ptolemy II Philadelphus as memorial coins with the portrait after the deification of Arsinoë II (which dated from before her death in July 269 B.C.). Of the other series of Ptolemy II some may well have been struck in Cyprus from 269-261 B.C. Ptolemy III, Euergetês I, (246-221 B.C.) issued bronze coins with a cultus-figure of the goddess Aphrodite on the reverse which may very probably be from a mint in Cyprus, as also the class of gold coins issued under Ptolemy IV Philopatôr (221-205 B.C.) with the portrait of Arsinoë III. A series of silver coins with the bust of Ptolemy IV as Dionysus was begun in his reign and was continued over several reigns. Ptolemy V Epiphanês (205-180 B.C.) began a great series of issues chiefly of silver which were minted at Paphos, Salamis, Citium and Amathus. There is also a small undated group of silver tetradrachms which belong to the period 203-197 B.C. for they bear the first two letters of the name of the stratêgos Polycratês. It is very interesting to note that in the thirtieth year of Ptolemy IX, Euergetês II, the mint mark of the city of Paphos came to be placed on coins issued from Alexandria. These Alexandrian issues can, however, be distinguished from their poorer though individual style. An explanation of this may be that Paphos had so much monopolized the silver coinage that, when silver coinage was struck elsewhere, its mint mark was slavishly copied (3). From now on, however, the coinage of Cyprus becomes extremely complicated and difficult, and the attributions to various kings are often very uncertain.

In the field of learning, the outstanding figure of the Hellenistic period in Cyprus is, of course, the philosopher Zeno who was born at Citium about 336 B.C. In 311 B.C., however, he emigrated to Athens where, after studying some ten years with the Cynics, he began to teach independently in the Painted Hall, the *Stoa Poikilê*, which gave its name to his school — the Stoics. If Semitic blood ran in his veins, for it seems that his father was a Phoenician, nevertheless Zeno's teaching is Hellenic, even though his method of implanting it as the utterance of a prophet is non-Greek.

As regards the burial of the dead in Cyprus in the Hellenistic period, all cities had their necropolis, and some, as in the case of Paphos, had two, one situated at the east and the other, at the north west of the city. The

(1) Exhibit Pedestal 8, Room VII, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia ; see also P. Dikaïos, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 seqq.

(2) For a description of this temple, see paragraph dealing with religion in Hellenistic times in Cyprus.

(3) Cf. J.G. Milne in *Journal of Eg. Arch.* XV, 1929, pp. 152 seqq.

north western necropolis of Paphos is situated on rocky ground which may be literally said to be honeycombed with tombs, though practically all have been rifled. Some of these tombs are of such a size and magnificence that they are locally known as the «Tombs of the Kings». These superb tombs consist of an atrium hewn out of the living rock to which access is had either by a stairway or an inclined *dromos*. This atrium which is open to the sky is surrounded by a portico which, in some cases, has pillars of the Doric order carved out of the rock (See Plates III & IV). From the portico chambers lead off and within them *loculi* are cut into the rock walls. These tombs recall in a striking manner the famous rock-tombs of Lindos in Rhodes.

In addition to the earlier cults from Hellenic times, such as that of the goddess Aphrodite at her famous temple at Paphos (1) (See Plate X) and of Apollo Hylatēs and of other Greek deities, the Hellenistic period saw the introduction into Cyprus of a number of new cults from abroad. Chief among these was that of certain Egyptian deities: Osiris, Isis and Serapis to which we must also add the Dynastic Cult of the Ptolemies. With regard to the cult of Osiris, there was a temple to him at Lapēthus (2). At Soli there was a temple or even two temples to Isis. Strabo who travelled along the west coast of Cyprus about 20 B.C. mentions this temple in his *Geogr.* XIV, 683 «Then the city of Soli which has a harbour and river and a temple of Aphrodite and Isis» *εἰτα Σόλοι πόλις, λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ποταμὸν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἰσιδος*. These temples have been identified with probability with the Temples B-C excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (3). The construction of these temples is assigned to the middle of the first century B.C. i.e. at the time of the Roman occupation of the Island (4), but Prof. T. Mitford inclines to a much earlier date, even third century, for a number of the inscriptions. From just outside the cella of Temple C comes the statuette in hard grey limestone representing a mourning Isis kneeling on a piece of a column, i.e. the pillar in which the coffin of Osiris was concealed by Set (5). Interest in the cult of Serapis began earlier. Macrobian *Sat.* 1, 20. 16ff records that Nicocreon of Salamis enquired concerning the god, and this enquiry is dated about 312 B.C. The temple to Serapis at Soli has been identified as that of Temple E which was most probably constructed about the middle of the third century A.D. (6). This temple is probably the one called *templum Jovis Dei* (7) by St. Auxibius who was a Roman and who left the capital and came to

(1) Cf. O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, «The Temple and Cult of Aphrodite at Paphos» in *Farouk I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, vol. IV, 1948, pp. 12 seqq.

(2) Cf. Sir George Hill, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 100n and 182n.

(3) *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. III, (text) p. 546.

(4) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 543.

(5) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 501, number 427 and p. 544.

(6) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 543.

(7) *Acta Auxibii*, parag. 6 cap. II.

Soli, where he preached Christianity. The god Serapis might well be identified with Jupiter by a Christian from Rome.

A temple to Priapus also existed at Soli as we learn from an inscription on a stone re-used as a building-stone which had fallen from the wall of the Temple F. This inscription reads: «Built (founded) at the order of Serapis» «Μοσχίων Κριτοδῆ[υ]ου Ῥόδιος Πριάπου [ι]ερὸν ἱδρύσατο Σαράπιος πρόσταγμα. (1). The site of this temple of Serapis, has however, not been located.

From the Temple B comes the following interesting inscription: «To Aphrodite of the mountains listening favourably, Titus Flavius Zeno having promised (dedicated) a statue of Hypnos» Ἀφροδείτῃ Ὀρεῖα ἐπηχὼς τὸν ὕπνον Τίτος Φλάβιος Ζήνων εὐξάμενος. (2) Here, it seems, we have a fusion between the Anatolian goddess Cybele who is usually called Μήτηρ Ὀρεῖα and the Cyprian goddess Aphrodite who takes the name Ἀφροδείτῃ Ὀρεῖα. This is the first time that we meet with this name, though Cybele is often identified with Aphrodite.

As regards Temple F at Soli, it may from its architecture have been a sanctuary of Mithras, but as no inscription nor sculptures were found, it has not been possible to assign it to any god or goddess (3).

The first mention that we have of the Dynastic Cult in Cyprus comes from an inscription dated 275 B.C. from Larnaka tēs Lapêthou. This inscription records that a certain Ἀβδ Ἀσθάρτ, son of the governor of the district of Lapêthus, was eponymous priest of «the lord of kings, Ptolemy» (4). A dedication dated 254 B.C. from Idaliūm likewise records that a certain Amath-osir was kanêphoros of Arsinoë Philadelphus (5). At Citium, probably under Ptolemy IV Philopatôr, a priest of the god Euergetai is recorded (6). and Onêsandêr of Paphos was priest for life of Ptolemy X, Sôter II (Lathyrus), and of the Ptolemaieion which he himself founded at Paphos (7). This Onêsander is of particular interest for us, as he afterwards became librarian at Alexandria. From the time of the deification of Arsinoë Philadelphus, the cult of the goddess, who was frequently identified with Aphrodite, enjoyed a vogue in Cyprus. At Idaliūm there was an Arsinoeion (8). and there must have been shrines in honour of Arsinoë at the various places renamed after her, such as Mariūm and Ammochostus. The Dynastic Cult in Cyprus was the religious focus of the

(1) Cf. *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 625.

(2) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III, (text), p. 626.

(3) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III, (text), p. 546.

(4) Cf. N. Cooke, *Sem. Inscr.* no. 29.

(5) N. Cooke, *op. cit.* no. 27.

(6) *O.G.I.*, 134,

(7) *O.G.I.*, 172.

(8) *Rev. Arch.*, XXVII, 1870, p. 90, no. 2.

Koinon of the Cyprians, and there was also a guild of **Basilistai**, which, as elsewhere, must have been concerned with the Dynastic Cult.

Naturally the earlier cults continued to be practised, e.g. the worship of the goddess Aphrodite at her sanctuary at Old Paphos and at her sanctuaries at Amathus, Soli, Salamis (1). Chytri, etc. Apollo had a sanctuary at Vônê (2) and at Drimou in the west of the Island, and at Curium there was a grove sacred to him which was inviolable for deer. At New Paphos there is a sanctuary to Apollo Hylatês, situated to the east of the city. This sanctuary, or rather cave-sanctuary, is hewn out of the rock, and is reached by an inclined **dromos**. It consists of two chambers one of which is circular with an opening in the roof; possibly an imitation of the oracular vault, the **μαντεῖον** or **χρηστήριον** of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Above the main entrance (See Plate XII), as also on the north wall in front of the oracular vault, there are inscriptions in the Cypriot Syllabic Script which would date its construction before the end of the fourth century B.C. (3). Hêra was worshipped at Amathus (4), Idalium, etc. and Athêna at Idalium and Vouni.

We now come to the Roman period in Cyprus, a period which furnishes us with much interesting material, archaeological, social and economic.

In 58 B.C. the tribune P. Clodius Pulcher carried a law to reduce Cyprus to the condition of a province and to confiscate the royal treasure (5). To effect this, Cato was appointed **quaestor pro praetore**, and as he no doubt expected that some resistance would be offered to him, and since he had no force with him, he sent on in advance a friend of his to try to persuade the then king of Cyprus, Ptolemy, the Cyprian, to yield peacefully. In exchange for his kingship, Ptolemy, the Cyprian, was to be offered the highpriesthood of the Temple of the goddess Aphrodite at Old Paphos, a position, indeed, which would have provided him with both wealth and honour. While awaiting Ptolemy's reply, Cato remained at Rhodes. Ptolemy, however, refused the offer, and realising that the Romans would probably remove him sooner or later, preferred to end his life by poison. Thereupon Cato proceeded to carry out with remarkable thoroughness the discreditable business of confiscating the royal treasure of Ptolemy the Cyprian. This treasure was immense, consisting of plate, furniture, precious stones and purple stuffs which Cato sold by auction for something under 7000 talents (6). If we assume that these talents were Attic silver talents of 6000 drachmae, and that the drachma represented

(1) Cf. *Homeric Hymn* 10, «Hail goddess, guardian of well-built Salamis and seagirt Cyprus; grant to me a lovely song».

(2) P. Dikaios, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

(3) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

(4) *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin, 1828-77, no. 2643.

(5) For particulars of the Roman annexation of Cyprus, cf. Cassius Dio, XXXVIII, 30, XXXIX, 22.

(6) Strabo, XIV, vi. 6.

nine English pence, then the sum fetched by the sale of this royal treasure would be equivalent to more than one and a half million pounds sterling. This amount of money, it should be noted, was accumulated by Ptolemy the Cyprian during his reign which lasted from 80 to 58 B.C., so that we may estimate his average yearly revenue at about 350 talents; his slaves passed into the service of the state. Cyprus thus became a Roman province, and remained so, except for a short period, when Julius Caesar, either before or after the riot which preceded the Alexandrine War, is said to have restored the Island to the Ptolemies, as an appanage to be enjoyed by the two younger children of Ptolemy XIII Aulêtês, Arsinoë and the younger Ptolemy (1). Cleopatra, it should be noted, however, drew the revenues and issued coins for the Island. On these coins she is represented holding in her arms the infant Ptolemy Caesar, her child by Julius Caesar (2). The possession of Cyprus together with Egypt was confirmed to Cleopatra by Mark Antony in 36 B.C. (3). but with her death in 30 B.C. and the murder of Ptolemy Caesar, Cyprus reverted to Rome. Up to 47 B.C. Cyprus was under the *quaestor* of Cilicia-Cyprus, but in this year it received its own *quaestor* (4). to whom Cicero wrote warmly commending to him all the Cyprians, especially the Paphians (5). When in 27 B.C. the Roman provinces were divided between the emperor and the Senate, Cyprus, perhaps together with Cilicia, was allotted to Augustus, but in 22 B.C. it was returned to the Senate (6) to be governed from now on by an *ex-praetor* with the title of *pro-consul*, on whose staff were a *legatus* and a *quaestor*. With the reorganization of the Roman Empire by Diocletian which was carried further by S. Constantine the Great, the province of Cyprus was placed in the first of the twelve great dioceses, that of the *Oriens*, commanded originally by a *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, then by the *vicarius Orientis* and finally, from about 331 A.D., by the *comes Orientis*.

As regards general conditions in Cyprus during the Roman period, they were on the whole peaceful and were disturbed seriously only thrice. The first disturbance was, however, a veritable disaster for the Island, and it came about in this way. In the winter of 115 A.D. or spring of 116 the Jews in Cyprus, led by one Artemion are said to have perpetrated unspeakable outrages on the population, following the example which had been set to them by their brethren in Cyrene and Egypt. It is said that the dead in Cyprus amounted to 240,000, and that the city of Salamis was utterly destroyed and the non-Jewish population exterminated. Of the above number we do not know how many of the dead were themselves Jews who were slain in the suppression of the revolt. Among the troops which

(1) Cassius Dio, XLII, 35.

(2) *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Ptolemies, Pl. XXX, 6.

(3) *Plut. Anton.* 36, 54; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 32, 5; 41, 2.

(4) C. Sextilius Rufus.

(5) Cicero, *Ad fam.* XIII, 48.

(6) Cassius Dio, LIV, 4, 1; Strabo, XVII, 3, 25.

were sent to put down this revolt there was a detachment of the Legio VII Claudia (1) and a mixed infantry and cavalry detachment, the Cohors VII Breucorum civium Romanorum equitata (2). The second disturbance was caused by a raid on Cyprus by the Goths in 269 A.D., but it seems that they did not do much damage in the Island (3). The third disturbance occurred in the reign of S. Constantine the Great, when an attempt was made by a certain Calocaerus to set himself up as master of the Island (4). It seems that this Calocaerus had been sent to take measures for the restoration of Cyprus after the earthquake of 332-333 A.D. He was, however, captured by Delmatius, nephew of the Emperor, and carried off to Tarsus where he was either crucified or burnt alive.

With regard to the administration of Cyprus under the Romans, the Island was governed, as has already been stated, from 22 B.C. onwards by an *ex-praetor* with the title of *proconsul* who had on his staff a *legatus* and a *quaestor*. The *proconsul* had his official residence at Paphos which became the capital of the Island. The list of *proconsuls* and other officials is still very defective, and to that given by Sir George Hill (5) there must be added the name of Philius Pontus which occurs in an inscription from a Roman temple recently brought to light at Paphos (6). The best known of these *proconsuls* is L. Sergius Paulus, circa 46-48 A.D., before whom St. Paul and the magician Elymas appeared. Astonished at the miracle which St. Paul performed on this occasion, L. Sergius Paulus believed in the doctrine which he preached (7). The municipal office of *stratēgos* of which mention has already been made, survived into Roman times (8), and the municipal institutions of the Hellenistic period, such as the *boulē*, *dēmos* and *gerousia* were continued. For example, the senate, presumably the *boulē* of Salamis played an unhappy part in the quarrel with M. Scaptius, the agent of M. Brutus (9). Sometimes, action was taken by the city (*πóλις*) as a whole, as at Salamis, Paphos, Citium and Curium, and sometimes by individual bodies, e.g. by the *boulē* at Salamis, Citium, by the *boulē* and the *dēmos* jointly at Salamis, Paphos and Lapēthus, by the *dēmos* alone at Salamis and Paphos, by the *gerousia* at Salamis. At Soli, and probably elsewhere, the *boulē* was chosen by a censor. Roman men of business, it would seem, had an organization of their own apart from the municipal constitution. For the management of the finances of the Island,

(1) H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 9491.

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III, p. 41, no. 215.

(3) Trebell. Pollio, *Vita Claudii*, XII, 1 «et Cyprum vastare tentarunt».

(4) Aurel. Victor, *De Caes.*, 41, 11 «Cyprum insulam specie regni demens capessiverat».

(5) Sir George Hill, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 254-256.

(6) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(7) *Acts* XIII, 6-12.

(8) *B.M. Inscr.* 975 (Amathus).

(9) Cicero, *Ad Att.* V, 21 & VI, 2.

officials termed *logistês* or *curator civitatis* were sent out by Rome (1), which also seems to have appointed an official termed *limenarcha* or inspector of harbours (2) who had probably control of harbour dues. The Cyprian fleet still existed though much reduced, as may be gathered from the fact that, when Licinius was collecting ships for his final struggle against S. Constantine the Great in 324 A.D., he obtained a contingent of only thirty ships from the Island, whereas, Egypt and Phoenicia contributed eighty each, the Ionians and the «Dorians in Asia» sixty, Libya, fifty, Bithynia thirty and Caria twenty. Moreover, a great part of this fleet was lost in a storm after an unsuccessful engagement in the Hellespont with Crispus, son of S. Constantine the Great, in the last months of 324 A.D.

As regards the cities, the most important were: New Paphos (a double community which included Old Paphos at which was situated the Temple of Aphrodite), Salamis (afterwards Constantia), Amathus, Arsinoë, Chytri, Carpasia, Kerynia, Citium, Curium, Lapêthus, Soli, Tamassus and Tremithus.

Already under the Ptolemies Paphos had been increasing in importance, and, in the absence of any local rulers, its fame as the religious centre of the cult of the goddess Aphrodite gave it a superior dignity. Another factor which led to its being made the capital of the Island under the Romans was undoubtedly the silting up of the harbour of Salamis and likewise the fact that being situated in the west of the Island it was nearer to Italy for communications and trade.

A severe earthquake laid Paphos in ruins in 15 B.C., and the emperor Augustus came to its rescue with a gift of money and decreed that the city should bear the name «Augusta» (3). This title appears in inscriptions immediately or soon after that year (4). In 22 A.D. the two temples of the goddess Aphrodite at Paphos and Amathus as well as that of Zeus Olympius at Salamis established their right of asylum before the tribunal of enquiry ordered by the Roman Senate to examine the claims of temples to the right of asylum (5). It was undoubtedly due to the excellent reception that Paphos gave to Titus, when he visited it in 69 A.D. on his way to Syria (6), that this city received the additional title of Flavia, although the inscriptions which record this are not earlier than the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (7).

(1) One is recorded at Citium in the reign of Septimius Severus and another at Paphos under Caracalla, cf. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athens & Paris, LI, 1927, pp. 139-141. Σεβαστή

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1440.

(3) Cassius Dio, LIV, 23. 7. Σεβαστή.

(4) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1906, III, 939.

(5) Tacitus, *Ann.* III, 62-63.

(6) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 2-4; Suetonius, *Titus* 5.

(7) *Inscriptiones Graecae*, etc., III, 937, 939, et Σεβαστή Κλαυδία Φλαουλία Πάφος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων.

As regards the architecture of Paphos, Strabo who visited the city in the beginning of the first century A.D., describes it as «having a harbour and well-built temples» (1). Of the actual architectural remains of Roman date at Paphos there are few visible above the ground. There are, for example, a number of erect monolithic granite columns near the 13th century church of St. Kyriakê Khrysopolitissa, which may have belonged to a forum, and on an elevation near the harbour there are lying on the ground a number of monolithic granite columns which belonged to a building that appears to have measured some 250 feet by 200 feet. Beneath it there are underground chambers and galleries which, according to a report given at the beginning of the nineteenth century, connect with a locality known as the Fabrica Hill, a quarter of a mile away (2). At this same locality there was discovered recently a Roman temple which was probably dedicated to the Imperial Cult, if we are to judge by the dedication inscriptions found on its site; one dedicates the statues and slopes to Antonius and his son M. Au[relius], i.e. the Roman emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and the other to Marcus Aurelius alone. Both inscriptions are in Greek, and a third, in Latin, mentions a dedication made by the citizens of Paphos to a certain Philius Pontus, *proconcul* (3). The city wall is particularly interesting, as a considerable part of its western end is hewn out of the living rock. This wall is pierced by two narrow entrances, and from the top a causeway also cut out of the rock, leads down to the western necropolis. No traces of stone or brick courses of this wall now remain (4). In the fourth century A.D. a series of earthquakes knocked Paphos about so badly that it was not rebuilt for some time. Indeed, when St Hilarion, a contemporary of S. Constantine the Great, visited this city, his biographer, St. Jerome, says of it «that city so celebrated by the poets which, destroyed by frequent earthquakes, has now only its ruins to show what once it was» (5).

As regards Salamis, a survey of the site of this city and some preliminary clearing — the whole area is covered with sand and shrub — was made in 1890 (6), and some further clearing was made in 1925 (7). The most important constructions laid bare are as follows: 1) **The First or Great Forum**. This may be considered the chief and earliest of the Roman memorials in Cyprus and was erected previously to the year 22 B.C., for we have an inscription which records a restoration of this forum by a *propraetor* (8), and as has been already said, the title of the governor

(1) Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV, 6.

(2) Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 21

(3) Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(4) *Ibidem*, p. 23.

(5) Hieron., *Vita S. Hilar.* 42 (Migne, *P.L.* XXIII, col. 50).

(6) *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XII (1891).

(7) Geo. Jeffery, *The Ruins of Salamis*, Nicosia, 1946, p. 11.

(8) *Ibidem*, p. 14 «Aug propraetore Salaminorum forum dilapsum restituit.»

of Cyprus was changed in 22 B.C. to that of **proconsul**. This forum was entirely built of stone with columns of the Corinthian order nearly twenty-seven feet high. The joints of the drums of the columns, as well as their shallow flutings, are covered with cement which gives the columns a peculiar appearance. All the capitals seem to have been made in two pieces, each two feet thick, with a horizontal joint. The area comprised within the outer walls of this forum was immense, and amounts to at least three and a half acres. The space within the enclosing houses and shops measures about 750 feet by 180 feet. At the south end of this forum there is a **podium** or platform on which stood a temple of the usual Roman square proportions. The Corinthian order of its columns was considerably larger than that of the forum colonnades —the proportion being as 3 to 4, and are an indication of the magnitude of this temple. Its **peristyle** and **cella** have been explored, and the former measures 96 feet by 72 feet and the latter (the east wall has not been found) 52 feet by 50 feet. The general width of the walls is 6 feet, and the existing surface is even and partly flagged with large flat stones. The dedication of this temple to Zeus Olympius is confirmed by an important inscription referring to lands belonging to the shrine found in 1890 (1) and by two or three other fragmentary inscriptions in Greek and Latin (2). An inscription of the emperor Trajan found nearby proves that this temple was standing at the beginning of the second century A.D. (1) After the forum and temple had been thrown down by an earthquake, the majority of the drums and capitals of the columns were carried away and re-used in the construction of the Byzantine city of Constantia (3). 2) **The Second or Granite Forum.** This is a collection of monolithic granite columns which appear to have formed the west colonnade of the forum. This site has not been explored, but it now appears that the original measurement of the enclosure, 190 feet, should be considerably more, and this would point to its being a forum, since such measurements would be too great for any edifice. 3) **The Third or Marble Forum.** This consists of a ruined stoa or colonnade with magnificent marble columns, traces of thirteen survive. Most are lying in the sand, though a few broken ones still remain standing. The height of the columns is about thirty feet and they are of a beautiful white colour and the capitals are carefully carved (See Plate V). This forum is attributed to the third or possibly second century, though in the fourth century or later the stoa was adapted as one side of a square enclosure of which the other three sides were on a smaller scale, about 20 feet high. A number of marble statutes of inferior quality were found when this forum was excavated, and they were removed to the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia. 4) **The Thermae.** In 1925 an attempt was

(1) *Ibidem*, p. 8 and *J.H.S.* XII, p. 78.

(2) One of these is in honour of Livia Augusta (*Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 984), and since she is not called Julia, this inscription dates from before the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.

(3) *Geo. Jeffery op. cit.*, p. 10).

made to penetrate a vast mound of ruins which in the map in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XII is termed «Castellum» (1). Subsequent investigation showed that these ruins consisted of a group of large halls and chambers which seem almost certainly to be Baths. The large and ponderous masonry and the spacious proportion of these ruins would seem to suggest a date in the first or second centuries A.D. As far as can be at present identified, these Baths consisted of three long chambers, side by side, each about 150 feet by 30 feet, inside measurement. Two, if not all three, of these chambers were completely vaulted, and the one in the centre terminated on the north side in a great semicircular apse or recess of the same width as the chamber. These three chambers are probably the *caldarium*, *tepidarium* and *frigidarium* in their usual relative position. The *hypocaust* and its heating ramifications will probably be discovered among them when the site is thoroughly explored. The total width of these three chambers is about 200 feet, owing to the immense thickness of the dividing and external walls. The construction is of a common and poor character, with large rough-hewn stones averaging 5 feet by 2 feet by 1 foot. The whole roof was covered with a strong cement of lime and puzzolana, of which a few traces have been identified. 5) **Roman Villa.** The well preserved plan of a villa has been partly laid bare at a point midway between the second and third forums. The lower courses of the walls remain to a height of a few feet. At one corner of the enclosure there are the remains of a bath house consisting of several rooms, two of which, communicating with each other, had *hypocausts* beneath them. The *hypocaust* with its sixteen little columns and floor above is completely preserved, and from the main walls of this part of the building it is not difficult to see that its construction was in vaulting. The inner chambers were approached through a vestibule with narrow doors arranged to retain the hot air within. The innermost chamber was built with three baths contrived in recesses. One chamber has a fine mosaic flooring, and others still preserve their marble floors. From its position near the forums this villa may well have been the dwelling of some wealthy merchant. There are many such villas and houses, as yet unexplored, in various parts of the city. 6) **The Great Reservoir.** At the north end of the First or Great Forum there is an immense tank built of masonry, locally known as the «Vouta» (vaulted building). It seems to have been a great distributing tank for the water supply of Salamis, but until the site has been properly excavated it is impossible to say anything definite about the water supply of the city. The date of the first building of the aqueduct which brought water to Salamis from Kythrea, some 35 miles away, is unknown, and the first records of it belong to Byzantine times. It may, however, date from the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.), since a magnificent bronze statue of him was discovered at Kythrea, and may have been erected there to commemorate the building of this aqueduct. It has been calculated that this aqueduct would serve some 120,000 inhabitants, a point to be remembered when estimating the population of Salamis.

(1) Geo. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The great silted up harbour together with the vast area of the lower town still remains to be explored (1).

In 332 A.D., and again ten years later, an earthquake knocked Salamis about very badly, and on the latter occasion a tidal wave levelled to the ground what had escaped the earthquakes (2). It was rebuilt on a smaller scale by Constantius II (337-361 A.D.) (3) and renamed Constantia after him. The survivors of the disaster were relieved of taxation for four years. At some time in this century Constantia definitely replaced Paphos as capital of Cyprus. It was also the see of the archbishop of the Island (4). It was finally ruined during the second Arab invasion of Cyprus in A.H. 33= 653-4 A.D.

The mines in the Island which had been the property of the Cyprian kings and of their successors the Ptolemies, naturally fell to the Roman State. In 12 B.C. the emperor Augustus allowed Herod the Great to take over a half of the output of the copper mines at Soli against a payment of a round sum of 300 talents (5). From Galen who visited Cyprus about the middle of the second century we have a description of a mine which he visited about thirty stades (5 1/2 km.) from Soli. He tells us that the official in charge, the epitropos of the Emperor, allowed him to visit the workings and to take away specimens (6). Among the miners in the fourth century were a number of Christians who had been transferred from the mines in Palestine to those in the Island (7). Among these was the famous St. Spyridon, bishop of Tremithus, who had been one of the confessors whom Galerius Maximianus, after putting out his right eye and hamstringing him in the left leg had condemned to the mines (8). Operations at these mines seem to have ceased about 400 A.D. Interesting tools, ladders, ropes, baskets, props, pottery-lamps, windlasses etc. have been found in the Roman workings and are described in the publications of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (9). It is interesting to note that no iron nails or nail holes in the timber have been found. It is probable that dowel pins were used in place of nails; pieces of wood with dowel holes have been found (10).

From the Tabula Peutingeriana, a thirteenth century reproduction of a map of the Roman Empire, second to third century, as well as from a few milestones we know that a circular road ran round the Island, keeping generally near the coast, as indeed does the actual circular road, except where it avoided the Akamas promontory and where it turned inwards over the Kyrenia mountain range to Chytri (Kythrea) and thence to Salamis. From

(1) Geo. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

(2) Elias of Nisibin (*Chron.* tr. Delaporte, p. 65) gives Olymp. 278. 2 (334-5 A.D.) as the date of this earthquake which others place two years earlier.

(3) Malalas (XII, p. 313, Bonn), but Constantius Chlorus should have been Constantius II).

(4) St. Epiphanius was archbishop of Constantia, and died 403 A.D. 5) Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVI, 4, 5.

(6) Galen, *De Antidotis* (*Opera*, ed. Kuhn, XIV, p. 7).

(7) Eusebius, *De marty. Palest.* 13.

(8) *Martyrologium Romanum*, 19 Kal. Jan.

(9) Swed. Cyp. Ex., *op. cit.* vol. III (Text), pp. 653-655.

(10) For a detailed report on these ancient copper mines, cf. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. III. (Text), Appendix V 'Antiquities in the Mines of Cyprus' by J. L. Bruce, pp. 639-671.

Citium a cross-road passed through Tremithus and Tamassus to Soli. There was also a central road which ran through the whole length of the central plain from Salamis to Soli, with side roads entering from the south, at Tremithus from Citium, and at Tamassus from Amathus. There was also another road from Salamis which served the Karpass (1).

As regards jewelry, we have earrings of three types. a) the Loop-type b) the Delta-shaped type c) a Loop-type in which the loop of the earring disappears and a secondary hook is attached directly to the back of the ornament (disc, setting with stone or paste). The commonest ornament is the convex disc or setting for pearl, which, moreover, is provided with a pendant (pearls, amethysts, glass-paste threaded on a fine wire). Necklaces are of the chain type with alternate links of flat paste beads and of perforated gold plates. Bracelets are of twisted wire with hook-and-eye fastening.

Of sculpture from the Roman period little of outstanding merit has as yet been found. The most important piece is a bronze statue of the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.). It was discovered in fragments near Kythrea (the ancient Chytri) in 1928. In 1940 a complete reconstruction was undertaken and successfully carried out in the Cyprus Museum workshops (2). It is now on exhibition in the Septimius Severus Room of the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia. The Emperor is represented over life-size in an heroic attitude, possibly in the act of delivering a speech, as is evidenced by the gesticulation of the hands. The weight of the body rests on the right leg which is slightly advanced, while the left leg is bent and touches the ground with the toes. The head is a masterpiece of portraiture and the rendering of the body is both powerful and elegant. There are also two marble sarcophagi of good Roman workmanship of the second century. One is at the Abbey of Bellepais, where it was converted by the mediaeval monks into a lavabo, and the other is now in a small enclosure at Varosha, where it serves as a tomb for the first English Commissioner of Famagousta.

The only Roman theatre that has been excavated so far in Cyprus is that at Soli which the Swedish Cyprus Expedition cleared in 1930 (3). This theatre seems to be Roman from the beginning, and to belong to the end of the second or beginning of the third century; there is no evidence that it has been restored or its plan altered after erection. The architectural type of this theatre shows similarity, partly to the Roman theatres in Asia Minor, partly to those in North Africa, Transjordan, and Arabia, and is therefore most probably approximately contemporary with them. As late as the 18th century there were considerable quantities of Roman architectural remains at Soli, but unhappily this site, like others in Cyprus, was then ruthlessly plundered for building stone for Egypt, and it is unlikely that this theatre escaped the fate of the other buildings.

This theatre (See Plate VI) consists of the three normal parts of an ancient theatre: orchestra, auditorium and stage building. **The Orchestra**

(1) Cf. T. Mitford, *Milestones in Western Cyprus*, London, 1940.

(2) Cf. *Archaeology*, vol. I, no. 3, September, 1948, New York, 'The Bronze Statue of Septimius Severus in the Cyprus Museum', pp. 146-147.

(3) Cf. Swed. Cypr. Ex., *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 548-582.

This is semicircular in shape and cut out of the rock, and there is a rectangular addition in front of it. The semicircle has a diameter of 17.0 metres, and the protracted, rectangular part, a width of 21.50 metres by 2.90 metres. The floor of the orchestra was plastered with lime-cement. Two passages lead into it, the western and eastern *parodoi*, and they were covered by a vaulted roof. **The Auditorium.** This is semicircular in shape with a diameter of 52.0 metres, and the greater part of it is cut in the rock of the sloping hillside. It is divided by a *diazoma* in two circles, and this *diazoma* which is 0.55 metres wide was covered with limestone slabs of which thirty-one in the middle are preserved. The seats are cut in semicircular concentric rows rising by steps and following the curvature of the auditorium. They also were originally covered with stone slabs probably of limestone, but of these not a single one is preserved. The seats measure 0.40 metres high and 0.40 metres wide, of which 0.35 metres is reserved for the feet of the person sitting on the row above. Only the nine lowermost rows of the seats are still traceable from the cuttings in the rock; every trace of the higher rows has disappeared through the weathering of the rock. It can be calculated that the lower circle contained seventeen rows and the upper circle thirteen rows, and it is estimated that there was room for 3500 spectators in the auditorium. The spectators reached their places on the rows by means of narrow stairs, 0.50 metres wide, radiating from the orchestra and from the *diazoma*. Two entrance passages give access to the auditorium from the outside, one to the west and the other to the east, on the level of the *diazoma*. These passages of which the walls have almost entirely disappeared, measure 10.50 metres long and 1.50 metres wide. They were originally covered by vaulted roofs and closed at their exterior ends. **The Stage-building.** This is a rectangular building 36.15 metres long and 13.20 metres wide. It is built on and around a rock-cut platform which forms an excised part of the natural rock. This stage-building consists of three parts: *logeion*, *paraskēnia* and *skēnē*. The *logeion* measures 23.95 metres long, 5.50 metres wide and 12.00 metres high. The front wall of it is decorated with pilasters in low relief flanking semicircular niches in which sculptures were once placed, but the back wall, i.e. the *scaenae frons* is missing. Three doorways open in the front wall on to a subterranean passage which is cut in the rock through the whole width of the stage-building. It measures 0.75-1.70 metres wide and 1.65 metres deep and is entered by a narrow door in the back wall of the stage-building. In the front wall of the *skēnē* there were probably also three doors by which the *logeion* communicated with the *skēnē*. The many fragments of the columns indicate that the superstructure of the *scaenae* had the appearance of the usual Roman, ornamental facade. The *paraskēnia* are rather narrow and rectangular in shape, measuring 11.50 metres in length and 3.35 metres in width, and are divided into two front rooms and two back rooms. The *skēnē* is rectangular in shape and measures 23.95 metres in length and 6.00 metres in width. It was divided into two parts by a longitudinal wall. The subterranean passage was covered with stone slabs of which only one was found approximately *in situ*. The roof of the stage-building was covered with tiles of terracotta of which many fragments were found.

No coinage appears to have been issued by the Romans in the Island until the time of Augustus, but from then on to Caracalla, and perhaps to Ela-

gabalus (1). there is a fairly important series of issues. On the coins of Claudius the Koinon of the Cyprians makes its appearance, and henceforth on all the ordinary bronze issues (2). It seems that the control of the bronze coinage was one of the chief functions of the Koinon of the Cyprians. During the last three years of Vespasian there was an extensive issue of silver, a continuation of the one which had been begun seven years before at Antioch on the Orontes, and was transferred to Cyprus, perhaps in connection with the measures taken to relieve the Island after the disastrous earthquake which is generally dated 77-78 A.D., but which may have taken place a year earlier. The most interesting type of coinage of the Roman period is undoubtedly that which depicts the Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos with the inscription «KOINON KYPRION (3) and another depicting Zeus holding a libation-saucer in his right hand, and resting his left, on the wrist of which his eagle perches, on a short sceptre. This doubtless reproduced the statue of Zeus Olympius in his temple at Salamis, though probably issued like all the other coins of the Island from the capital Paphos.

Public education was in the hands of gymnasiarchs who frequently undertook the office as a liturgy at their own cost, the chief expense of which seems to have been the provision of oil, as in Graeco-Roman cities generally. For example, at Lapethus a certain Adrastus, son of Adrastus, built the temple and set up the statue of the emperor Tiberius in the gymnasium, appointing himself and his descendants gymnasiarch and priest of the gods of the gymnasium. Hermes and Herakles, in conjunction with his son Adrastus, who also chose himself to be gymnasiarch of the boys, all at their own cost. An *ephebach* is mentioned in the same inscription (4) as also in one from Chytri. At Soli there was a public library (*bibliophylakion*).

In addition to the mosaic floors in villas explored and unexplored at Salamis, we have also examples from Old Paphos, New Paphos and Curium. That from Old Paphos (See Plate VII) is in coloured tesserae arranged in geometrical figures, and probably dates from the second to third century A.D. It has no inscription. The mosaic flooring from New Paphos, recently discovered, is in coloured tesserae and depicts the struggle of Herakles with the Lion of Nemea (5) (See Plate VIII). The hero is represented as about to seize the lion by the throat as it leaps upon him. His club leans against the wall of the cave behind him. The lion has the short mane of the Asiatic species. This mosaic dates also most probably from the second to third century A.D. (6) From Curium we have a very interesting mosaic flooring with an inscription (See Plate IX) which is in coloured tesserae and is circular in shape. The inscription is enclosed in a garland which is sur-

(1) Cf. Westholm, *Temples of Soli*, p. 135.

(2) There was an extensive issue of bronze of two denominations with the heads of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Caesar. Although it bears no indication that it was made in Cyprus, it seems certain that it was minted there, as specimens always come from the Island.

(3) Cf. Swed. Cyp. Exp., *op. cit.*, vol III, (Text), p. 497 n. 333 obverse bust of Trajan; p. 502, n. 445 obverse bust of Caracalla; p. 503, n. 456 obverse bust of Julia Domna.

(4) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 933.

(5) Apollodorus, *Libr.* II, v. 1 (The First Labour of Herakles).

(6) Permission to publish the photograph of this mosaic was graciously accorded to the writer by the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, under letter No. 88/37/2.

rounded by squares containing geometrical figures. In order that the squares could be arranged around the garland, wedges were inserted between them. The inscription with the proposed restorations (1) reads as follows:

ΕΙCΑ(ΕΙ) ΕΠΑΓΑΘ(Ω) ΕΥΤΥΧΩC ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ

which we may render as: «For ever [be it] for good [and] good luck to the house». Its date may be placed anywhere in the first three centuries A.D.

Although the institution of the Province of Cyprus did not carry with it the inauguration of a provincial era, a new calendar was, however, introduced at Paphos under the emperor Augustus, possibly in 15 B.C., when the city received special favour from him after the disastrous earthquake it suffered. In this new calendar the names of the months all referred to Rome and more particularly to the Julian family. The year opens with the month called Aphrodisios in honour of the goddess Aphrodite, not only as the goddess of Paphos but also as an ancestress of the Julian family. In 2 B.C., however, a revision of this calendar had to be made owing to the fact that Julia had disgraced her name whilst other members of the family had died and Tiberius himself had gone into exile. In this revised calendar the month of Aphrodisios still opens the year, but the opening date is changed to 23rd September, the birthday of Augustus, and the names of the remaining months refer to the offices held by Augustus. At Salamis, the Egyptian calendar which the city had observed under the Ptolemies was retained. The year, however, began on 4th September and the order of the Egyptian names of the months was changed. This calendar was kept long into the Imperial period.

As regards the burial of the dead during the Roman period, tombs are found at all the historic cities of the Island. At Paphos, we have examples of two types of Roman tombs both situated at the locality locally known as «Sē-madi». One of these is rock-hewn and the other is stone-built (2). At Salamis, many of the Roman tombs which lined the road which led to the city have long since vanished. The greater part were long ago rifled, though one near the village of Engomi was found to contain a considerable amount of the usual grave-furniture and jewelry, but, unfortunately, this find has been dispersed. The principal tomb is that known as «St. Catherine's Prison». It is a Roman structure of a large and unusual form and recalls the famous tombs of Palmyra. Its date may be the second century A.D. (3).

With regard to religion in Cyprus during Roman times, we have, in addition to the cults already mentioned in the Hellenistic period, the mention of a Tychaion at Paphos founded by a certain Apollonia and her husband Patroclēs who were also high-priests for life of the goddess Tychē. The inscription which mentions this (4) probably dates from the time when Paphos received the title «Augusta». From an inscription found at Salamis (5) we learn that a certain Hyllus acted as gymnasiarch at his own

(1) For the restoration A [EI] which not only fits into the space allotted for the lettering of the inscription, but also suits the context very well, I am indebted to my colleague Mr. J. Holland who very kindly proposed it to me.

(2) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

(3) Cf. the article by Geo. Jeffery in *Archaeologia* for 1915.

(4) *O.G.I.* 585.

(5) *O.G.I.* 582.

expense in the year thirty-three of Augustus, i.e. 4 A.D. and as high-priest of Divus Augustus Caesar in Cyprus. We have also mention of a high-priestess of the temples of Dēmētēr throughout the Island (1). Although the evidence as yet is not conclusive, there may have been also a sanctuary of Mithras at New Paphos. Situated between the Fabrica Hill and the modern lighthouse of Katô Paphos there are some rock-hewn chambers of which two have been cleared this year (1949). One of them is a circular vault similar to the oracular vault already mentioned in the cave-sanctuary of Apollo Hylatês to the east of the city, but without an opening in the roof. A low stone platform running round the sides of the circular vault and fixed to the walls may have served as a bench. In the middle of the floor a short, thick stone column was found overturned. This column which has now been set up has a hole in the top into which a statue may have been fitted (See Plate XIII). In the east wall of this vault a door-way cut in the rock leads into an oblong, nave-like chamber in the north, or end wall of which a niche is cut out of the rock and probably contained a statue of the god (See Plate XIV). No inscription or statue has been found in either of the two chambers of this sanctuary so far cleared. The evidence in favour of the use of this cave-sanctuary for the worship of Mithras is as follows: a) the oblong, nave-like, rock-hewn chamber with shrine-recess in the end wall and the shallow stone platform running round the circular vault and fixed to the walls, both of which things are paralleled in the cave-sanctuary of Mithras at Ostia, the harbour of Rome (2) b) that as the cult of Mithras had its devotees among the foreign, especially Asian soldiery of the Roman army and among merchants, and was consequently found especially where there was a garrison and also in sea-ports, it is reasonable to suppose that New Paphos which was a sea-port and had also a garrison, would likewise have possessed a sanctuary of Mithras c) that this cave-sanctuary is of Roman date seems probable from the large monolithic granite column lying at the side of it which possibly belonged to some building either in front of or above this cave-sanctuary. This column is of the same design as the other monolithic granite columns found on Roman sites in other parts of the city. Its size and weight are in favour of its being *in situ*. In addition to this, the remains of the Roman temple assigned to the Imperial Cult which has already been mentioned at the Fabrica Hill that is only a short distance from this cave-sanctuary, would suggest a date towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. for Roman building in this locality, a time, indeed, at which the cult of Mithras was becoming increasingly more popular and wide-spread.

The transition from the old beliefs to that of Christianity is well illustrated by a remarkably interesting, inscribed mosaic found in a 4th century building recently excavated at Curium. This inscription written in elegiacs describes how the house now rests on the support of Christ and how a new protector has arisen for Curium, taking the place of Phoebus Apollo (3).

(1) Cf. P. Lebas & W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, vol. III, Part. I, Paris, 1870, no. 2801.

(2) Cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1949, p. 576, under the word 'Mithras'.

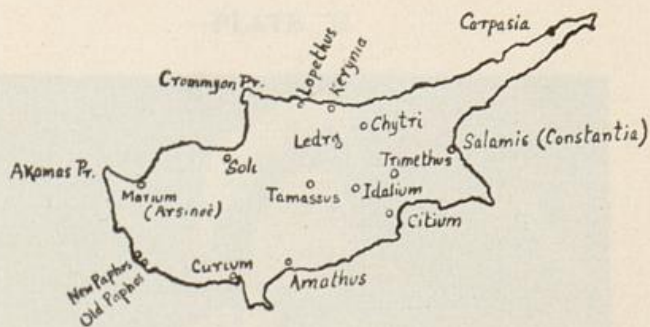
(3) Cf. *Bull. of University Mus. of Pennsylvania*, VII, 2, April, 1938, pp. 6 seqq.

The most important Christian monument of the Roman period in Cyprus is undoubtedly the great basilica of Constantia (Salamis) (1). This basilica has not yet been completely excavated, the narthex and atrium being still underground. This church possessed five aisles divided into fifteen bays, and the doors in the west wall probably led to the narthex and atrium. It had a single apse projecting from the east wall of the central nave. There are some compartments at the east end, but their exact relation to the basilica can be determined only when they have been properly excavated. This basilica belongs to what is known as the Hellenistic type. The main body of the church measures 70 metres long and 49 metres wide, and if we add to this the unexcavated narthex and atrium, this basilica must have measured over 120 metres in length, and would thus have been one of the largest, outside Rome. The stone columns were built of drums from the First or Great Forum of Salamis, but were provided with new capitals. It is most probable that this basilica was the one which Saint Epiphanius, archbishop of Constantia, who died in 403 A.D., is said to have built, and in which he was afterwards buried.

O.H.E.KHS-Burmester.

(1) Cf. *Antiquaries Journal*, VIII, 1928, pp. 344 seqq.

MAP



CYPRUS

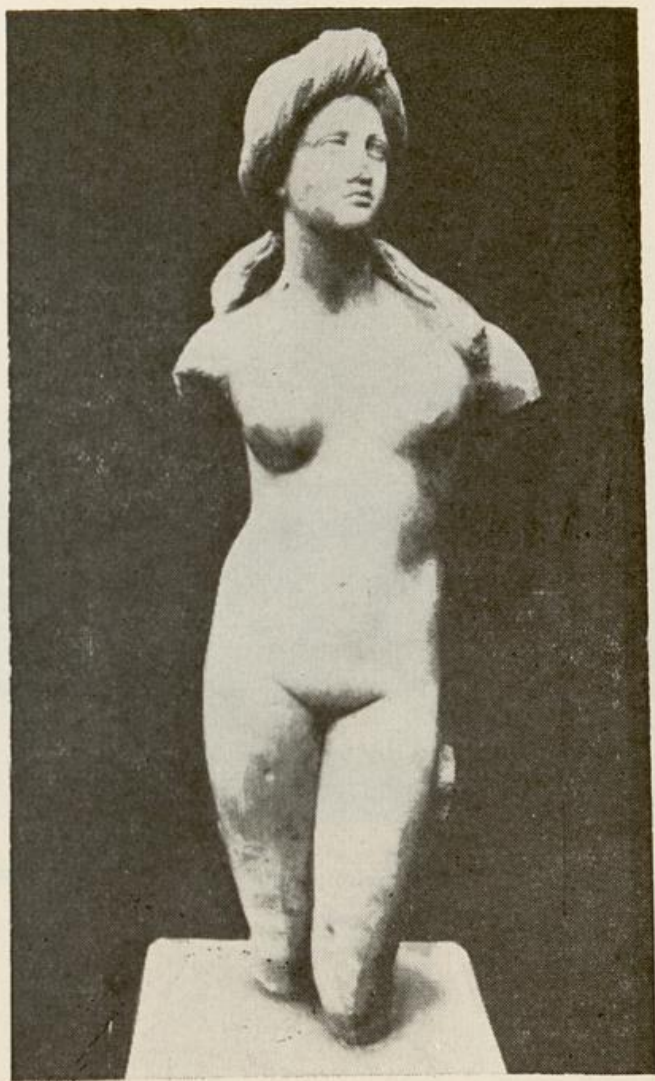
Greek colonies in Cyprus. Citium and Carpasia are
Phœnician colonies and Amathus is autochthonous.

PLATE I



Sleeping Eros. Provenance : Paphos. Third Century B. C.

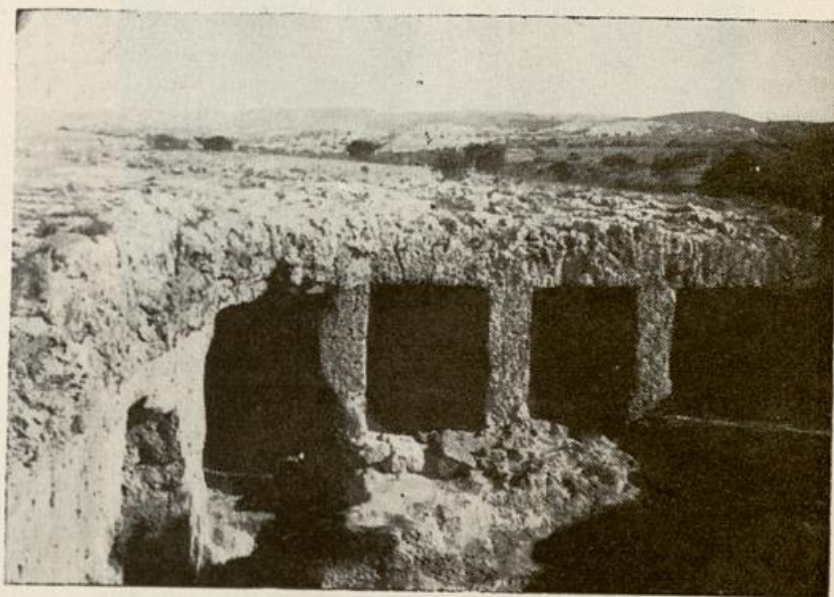
PLATE II



Statue of the goddess Aphrodite.

Provenance : Soli. Third Century B. C.

PLATE III



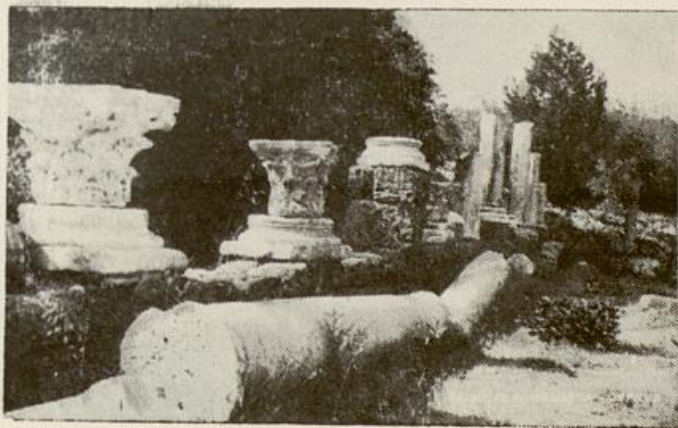
Rock-hewn tomb with atrium and colonnade. Western necropolis, Paphos.
Hellenistic period.

PLATE IV



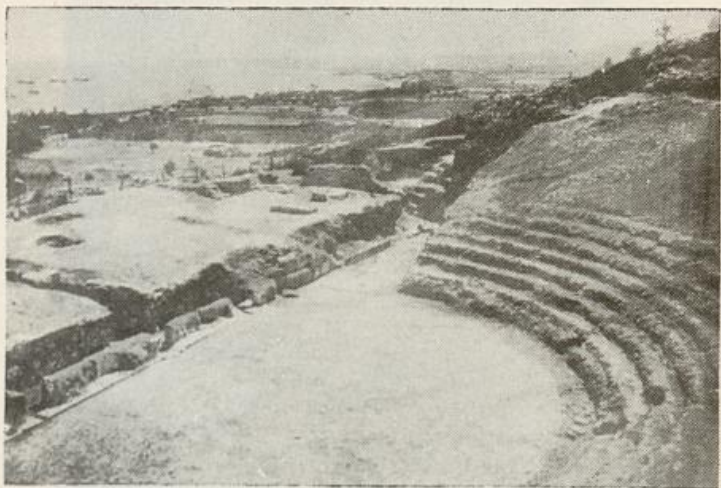
Rock-hewn tomb with atrium and colonnade of the Doric order. Western necropolis, Paphos. Hellenistic period.

PLATE V



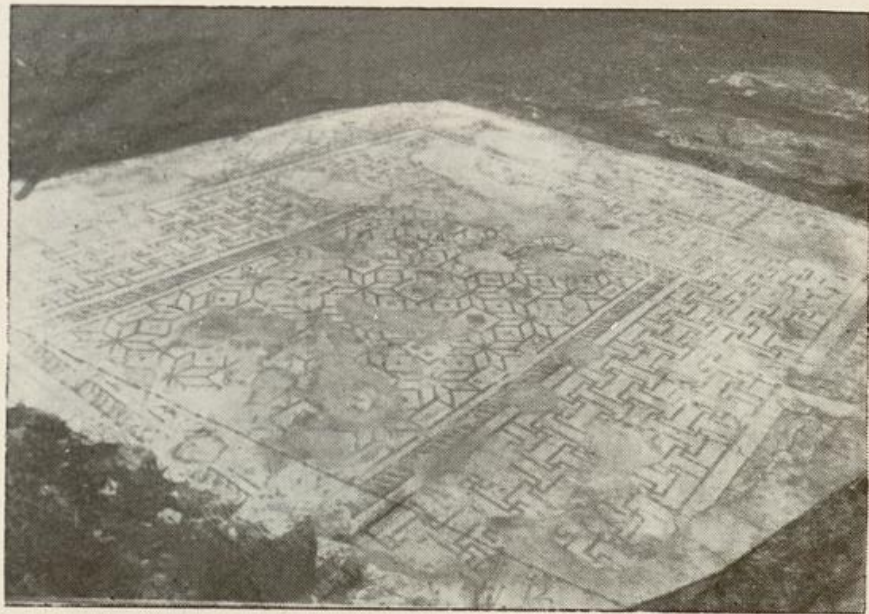
Third or Marble Forum, Salamis. Second to third century A.D.

PLATE VI



Roman theatre at Soli, showing auditorium, orchestra and stage-buildings. Date : end of second to beginning of third century A. D.

PLATE VII



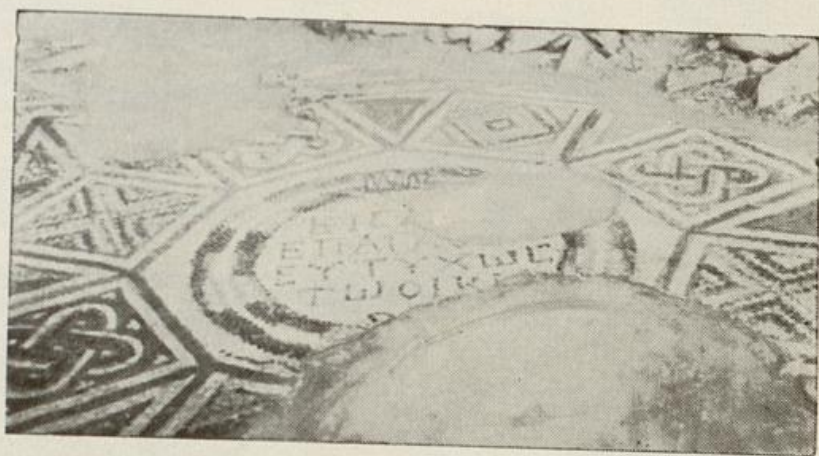
Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at Old Paphos (Kouklia).
Date : second to third century A. D.

PLATE VIII



Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at New Paphos. Subject: Heraklès and the Lion of Nemea (1st Labour of Heraklès). Date: ? second to third century A. D. (Published with the authorisation of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, No. 88/37/2).

PLATE IX



Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at Curium. Inscription inside a garland surrounded by squares with geometrical designs. Date: first to third century A. D.

PLATE X



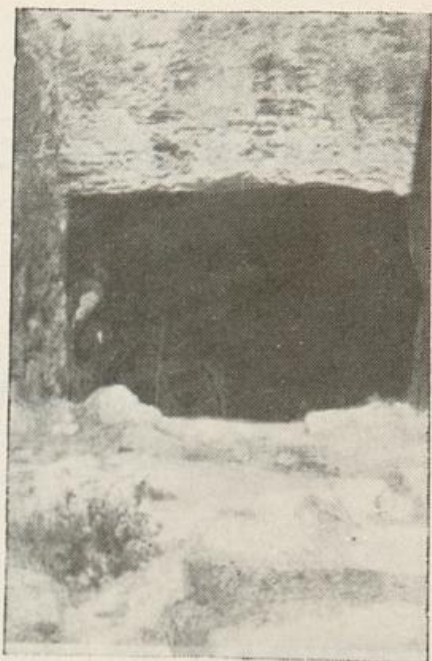
Remains of buildings and walls in the temenos or enclosure of the Temple of the goddess Aphrodite at Old Paphos (Kouklia)

PLATE XI



The Acropolis of the city-state of Curium, looking south-east.

PLATE XII



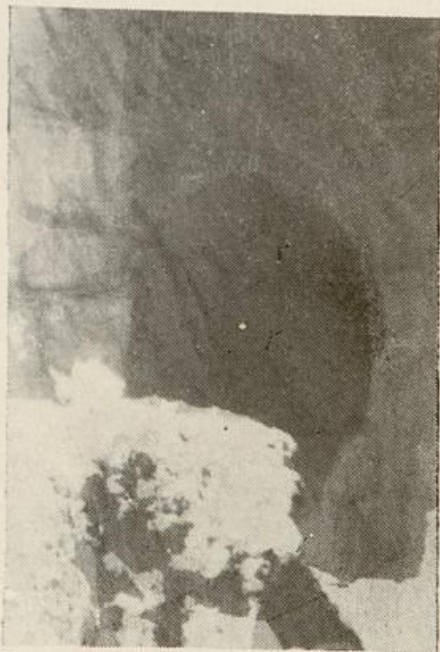
Entrance to Cave-Sanctuary of Apollo Hylatês at New Paphos, showing inclined dromos and Cypriot Syllabic Script inscription on face of rock above.

PLATE XIII



Entrance to circular vault of Cave-Sanctuary of ? Mithras at New Paphos, showing thick stone column set up in the centre.

PLATE XIV



Entrance to oblong, nave-like chamber of Cave-Sanctuary of ? Mithras at New Paphos.

Concerning Urbanism

and

Anti-Urbanism in Antiquity

William Linn Westermann.

Concerning Urbanism and Anti-Urbanism in Antiquity

by

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

In the nineteenth century there was a wide-spread feeling that the massing of human beings in the the great urban agglomerations which were then re-shaping the social problems of the time tended to foster social viciousness in the individuals who lived in the cities. The same kinds of people did not develop or display these vicious tendencies when they were dispersed in the separate households of farm life or in the healthy rural surroundings of the villages. This is an attitude which some sociologists have called «the rural bias». Because its literary expression has taken the form of a negative reaction against the city rather than a positive reaction toward village or countryside, for the purpose of this paper it is better to call this feeling «the anti-urban bias».

The negative reaction against city living expressed itself in the United States and in Europe in two phases. The first phase appeared at the time when urban aggregations had begun to bring about fundamental changes in the existing structure of the then agricultural societies, predominantly organized in village, town and small-city units. The traditional *mores majorum* were disintegrating. In this period, which may roughly be said to have covered the first half of the nineteenth century, the anti-urban reaction took the form of hatred, or of fear, of the city. This attitude found expression in poems similar to the following naive American verses addressed to a country girl «who had expressed a wish to lead a town life»:

«Sweet Mary, sigh not for the town
Where vice and folly reign;

.....

There foul Ambition loves to dwell,

False Pride and lust of Fame,

There Malice and Revenge rebel

Against the good man's name.

Ah! little do you know, sweet maid,

What art the city spoils,

Where villians ply the canting trade

and fraud is drest in smiles ». (1)

(1) «To a Country Girl, by H. H. Jr., which appeared in *Plough Boy*, an early American Agricultural paper published at Albany, N. Y. See vol. II, (1820-1821) p. 89, in the issue of August 19, 1920. The reference comes to me from Professor A. L. Demaree of Dartmouth College. He informs me that the poem is characteristic of a fear of the city which found frequent expression in the agricultural journals of that period.

After the big city had become an inescapable fact, a new literary evaluation of the urban community appeared. It was still negative; but it was much more sophisticated in tone. It took the form of a sentimentalized attitude toward farm life and, more practically, led to the growth of suburban communities. It has become a conventional theme of social history. In the poetry of our day which deals with social forces it is a somewhat constant theme:

«Of blood and dreams are built the towns of men;
Of bitter blood and lustful dreams of power,
And dreams of beauty». (1)

So the city develops a «soul» of its own and represents in itself the highest aspirations and the lowest degradations of mankind. In the grandiose and pretensions work of Oswald Spengler the megalopolis becomes an outstanding symptom of decline. In Spengler's view only civic man has a history. All great cultures are town cultures. The great city «marks the end of organic growth — the beginning of an inorganic, and therefore unrestrained, process of massing without limit». And this process is the last act for Oswald Spengler in the present version of the drama of humanity which plays itself through in long cycles of time. To Spengler the urban development represents an «organic growth leading to self-destruction». (2)

If we refuse to accept this view of the parasitic origin and nature of the city and prefer to follow the pathway to an understanding of the city which has been set by the modern city-planners and many of the sociologists, we may approach the megalopolis without prejudice, as a collectivity and a concentration point of human beings which has great economic and great social advantages, both for its individual units and for the totality which it represents. (3) Whatever end we may reach, a new inquiry into the city form and the social results of that growth seems to be warranted.

In the following consideration of the mental attitude of the ancient Greeks and Romans toward urbanism and its problems a number of primary postulates of this paper must be stated. The first is that the literature of Greco-Roman antiquity was aristocratic. The man of the people wrote but little. If he talked upon the street and found an audience, only occasionally did anyone bother to write down what he said to save it for the coming generations (4). Therefore the popular attitude toward urbanism, that of the actual man of the city streets, is to be seen only on pale reflections found in middle-class and upper-class literature. The second pre-supposition is that we must sharply distinguish the type of urban life which developed during the two millenia of the pre-Greek, oriental, cultures from that which we find in the Hellenic city-states. Cities unquestionably existed in the pre-Greek period, in the sense of large urban aggregations with the necessary political

(1) Hartley Alexander, *Odes on the Generation of Man* (New York, 1910), p. 68.
(2) Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 90, 95, 96, 100.

(3) See Robert M. Haig, *Toward an Understanding of the Metropolis*, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for 1926, p. 187.

(4) Three notable exceptions are the cases of Socrates, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of Epictetus, the former slave of Stoic faith.

organization and mechanism of defense which would be required to control the nomes in Egypt and lesser city kingdoms of the Babylonian area. (1) The differentiation of the pre-Hellenic cities from the Greek city form lay fundamentally in the sphere of political organization. Egyptian and Babylonian towns were completely dominated by the great palaces and temple structures around which they were built. (2) This royal and temple overshadowing was cultural and spiritual as well as political and visual architecturally. The Greek city-states, also, had their temples which were prominent elements of the architectural outlook of each city. But these temples were integral parts of the physical city and of the political community, dominated by the concept of the self-governing polity and subordinated to that idea. It was, in fact, the Agora, the market of place, and its activities, with a minimum of city-state regulation to hamper it, which was the directing center of the life of the Greek cities.

Economically, also, urban groupings of the pre-Hellenic period were confined to functions which were essentially rural, to the extractive and transportation activities connected with agricultural production. Even here the village peasants, the *fellahin* of Ancient Egypt, worked under the shadow of the Pharaoh (the Great House) or of the temple. Production in the handicrafts, buying and selling, management — all of those functions which the ancient Greeks and the modern world have attached, and still attach to the concept of civic life — were completely under monarchic or sacerdotal domination. (3) In the first half of the twelfth century before Christ, for example, as we know from the Papyrus Harris, the God Amon by royal grant was ruler of 169 towns situated in Nubia, in Egypt itself, and in Syria (4).

The ancient Greek attitude toward the urban centers of the Babylonian sector is clearly reflected in Aristotle's statement regarding the great capital, Babylon. To him it was not a city, but an agglomeration of people resembling the territory of a nation (5). Implicit in this statement is the idea that the areal spread of Babylon was so great that its inhabitants were semi-

(1) For Egypt see Edward Meyer, *Geschichte der Altertums*, 2d ed., (Berlin, 1909), I 2, p. 177. For Babylonia and the prefects of the Babylonian cities consult Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I pp. 121, 128.

(2) Upon Dura - Europus on the Euphrates River and other similar Seleucid city foundations in the ancient Near East see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. I. pp. 479 and 490-492 (Oxford 1941). Upon the municipal spirit which remained alive in these cities of the Hellenistic period see vol. II p. 1075.

(3) M. I. Rostovtzeff in Richard T. Ely's *Urban Land Economics* (Ann Arbor, 1922), p. 57. For those economic functions which are considered to be essentially urban, consult Robert Haig, *Quart. Jour. of Economics*, 1926, p. 189.

(4) James H. Breasted in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 182. Breasted's translation of the Papyrus Harris will be found in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*. IV, 85-206.

(5) Aristotle, *Politics*, III, 1, 12. No doubt Aristotle, who had not visited Babylon, followed the description in Herodotus I, 178 ff. Archaeological investigation has proven that Babylon, instead of being the 480 stades (about 55 miles) in circumference, or 14 miles on a side, was about 4 miles in length on each side. Even so it would have contained Corinth, which had a more extensive walled area than any other Greek city, about three times. For the walls of Corinth see Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon, *Corinth III*, part 2, p. 80 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); and compare for Babylon, F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning* (1913), pp. 20, 26.

autarchic from the standpoint of food supply. Politically the Babylonian cities were not in the slightest degree self-ruling.

Wherever the lower limit may be set for that quantity of people which constitutes a city, in the modern terminology the number of the residents of any urban community always plays a part in the definition of the word «city» (1). This quantitative appraisal was completely absent from the «polis» concept of the Greeks who were the first people to develop a culture based upon city life in anything like the modern meaning of that term. Fundamentally polis was a political concept, meaning states; but the type of state represented in the word was unique. Within that polis which was state there was another polis — a physical city. The physical polis was the heart of the territorial polis, that is, the state. Athens was a city and Athens was a state. Attica was a geographical area; but it was not a state. This symbolizes the essential differentiating characteristic of the Greek polis. It was physical city, plus state. Each microcosmic city-state made its pretentious and insistent claim to separate nationhood. This claim included recognition of its own set of its own set of laws, its separate coinage system, its own diplomatic service. The Greeks maintained for centuries this political philosophy of the little city-state; but the Italian cities lost it by 272 B.C., to the spread of Roman urban unification. Except for this concept of the city and state as one of the Greek and the Roman urban centers approached our cities of today in respect to their civic life and structure.

When did the polis of antiquity, this community of city type, first appear? I do not hesitate to put its inception even before the Greek colonization movement of the eighth century B.C. By this I mean to include both the urban aggregation into economic and social community, corresponding to the modern demands implied by the word «city», and the political concept of the city-plus-state which was so characteristically Greek (2). From the period of the eighth and seventh century colonization downward to the date of the establishment of Constantinople as the new Rome, the Mediterranean presented its typical and unchanging picture of a great inland sea whose edges were strung with towns and cities. Through these harbor cities the Mediterranean hinterlands sent out their products by ships to the utmost ends of that traders' sea. Similar towns and cities received these shipments and sent back goods of local production which were elsewhere desired or needed. This I take to be the outstanding fact of the ancient Greco-Roman culture, that it was fundamentally a culture of lands abutting upon the Mediterranean Sea and that it was thalassic-minded. Only two men really broke away from its

(1) The lower limit of resident population may be set, either legally or by general acceptance, at 2000, as in several of the countries of Europe and in some of the United States. Or it may be legally fixed at 10,000 or 12,000 as in other states of the North American Union. See the references collected by Scott E. W. Bedford in his *Readings in Urban Sociology* (New York, 1927), pp. 29-32.

(2) Victor Ehrenberg, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVII (1937), pp. 147-159, has come to the same conclusion upon the polis as political concept, as against Helmut Berve in *Die Antike*, XII (1936), 1, f. Berve would put the realization of the political polis at about 500 B.C.

Professor C. W. Blegen, who is in charge of the revival of the Schliemann-Dorpfeld excavations upon the site of ancient Troy stated, in a lecture at the Metropolitan Museum in New York upon Nov. 5, 1938, that Troy was never a city. Throughout its career it remained a fortress surrounded by villages.

dominant intra-Mediterranean and thalassic viewpoint. These were Alexander the Great and Gaius Julius Caesar. Alexander broke down completely the political barriers between the Mediterranean and the Middle East as far as India. Against the opposition of the dominant party in the Roman Senate Julius Caesar cast aside that Mediterranean introversion which constricted the imagination of most of the other leaders of his time.

The vital importance of a location on the shore of the sea was fully recognized alike by the theorists and by the practical politicians of antiquity. Plato in his *State of the Laws* would protect the administrative and central city of his state from the vices connected with harbor towns and their traffic. To do this he would locate the city about 80 stades distant from the sea. This is about ten miles (1). In 149 B.C. the importance of a ten mile distance from the coast was recognized both by the Roman Senate and by the Carthaginian state, when the Roman embassy, headed by the consul Censorinus, met with the envoys from the doomed city of Carthage. These envoys, whatever their grief may have been, gave over without protest the hostages demanded of them. They surrendered their war material, both naval and land equipment, including 2,000 catapults. But when Censorinus declared that they might keep their land and be autonomous, but must remove the city itself 10 miles back from the sea shore, their grief surpassed all bounds. Like men in the throes of death or men insane «they threw themselves upon the ground and beat it with their hands and heads», wailing and tearing their clothes. Suddenly complete silence gripped them all, a silence «as of dead men lying there». Even the hard-bitten Romans shed tears at this tragic sight. Well might the Carthaginians mourn for their city and their state, speaking to her «as to a woman who might hear», because 10 miles back from the sea meant the end of the might of Carthage. The Carthaginians knew it; and the Romans knew it (2).

The ideas which still dominate our thinking about urban development in antiquity were set in 1884 through an essay written by Robert Pöhlmann (3). His study was prepared and submitted in competition for a prize, with the given task of making «a collection, as complete as possible, of the facts relating to overpopulation, and particularly to the housing shortage in the great cities of antiquity» (4). Writing *ad hoc* and with the anti-urban preconceptions of his time, Pöhlmann had little difficulty in assembling information which proved to himself, and has set, for some part of the scholarly world since his time, a definite attitude. According to the Pöhlmann conviction, the urban populations of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were excessive; and, being excessive, the human aggregations in their urban communities were both exposed to, and productive of, the worst

(1) Plato, *Laws* IV, 704.

(2) For the vivid description of this scene see Appian, *Foreign Wars*, Libyca 82. It goes back to the account of Polybius who was with Scipio Africanus when he carried the war to its bitter end in 147 and 146 B. C. To Strabo Rome was an inland city although it was located only 14 miles back from the sea ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ, Strabo V 3, 7.

(3) Robert Pöhlmann, *Die Übervölkerung der antiken Grosstädte*, Leipzig, 1884.

(4) This is stated in Pöhlmann's work on the page facing the table of contents at the beginning of the essay.

sort of social discomfort and contamination (1). One of the less distinguished offspring of Pöhlmann's ideas was a hasty paper by Guilelmo Ferrero, still read and still quoted occasionally as authoritative. This article maintained that hyperurbanism in antiquity was one of the principal causes of the decline of ancient civilization (2). But Ferrero's paper failed to come to grips with the essential problems involved. Where was the line to be drawn between urbanism and excessive urbanism? If it were true that the cities were actually too large for a healthy social and state life, the real question becomes even more pressing. In what sense were the urban communities too large, and why so?

Size is a relative term like «time» and «space». The areal spread of a city, if it includes internal sustenance spaces, or even «breathing spaces», in the sense of public parks and gardens, is more important consideration than size in the sense of absolute numbers of inhabitants. More essential than either of these considerations is the question of the function of a city in relation to the life of its restricted locality or to the life of the wider area with which it is immediately involved, both economically and socially. This problem of city function is the one which has been most neglected in the treatment of urbanism in antiquity (3). If, however, we are to deal critically with the hyperurbanism of Pöhlmann an inquiry into the actual numerical size of typical ancient towns and cities cannot be avoided.

The scholar who attempts to deal with the size of the urban populations of Greco-Roman antiquity must fall back upon the approximations set up by Julius Beloch (4). The era of important urban development with which we are concerned covers the 800 years from the first Persian invasions of Greece to the accession of Constantine, called the Great. Within these eight hundred years two periods must be distinguished. The first is the stretch of 200 years from about 500 B.C. to Alexander's time, the «classical age» of Greek culture. The «great» cities of this time were not over-big; and the large ones which did exist were located, in general, in the eastern Mediterranean. In its western half the cities of any considerable size were confined to Carthage and its neighboring Punic towns and to the coast line of Sicily, lower Italy, lower Gaul and eastern Spain. Where city populations can be guessed at the big cities ranged from the 115,000 which may be ascribed to Athens and the Piraeus (5), to the 200,000 which is a possibility for the two

(1) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(2) Guilelmo Ferrero in *Hearst's Magazine*, XXI (1912), pp. 1723 ff.

(3) A beginning of the study of the economic functioning of the cities of antiquity has been made by M. I. Rostovtzeff — by types in his *Caravan Cities* (1932) — by essential connections in his article, Alexandria and Rhodes in *Klio* XXX (1937), pp. 70-76.

(4) Julius Beloch, *Bevölkerung der antiken Grossstädte*, Leipzig, 1886. The enduring value of Beloch's work arises from the candor and realism with which he acknowledged the limitations set upon numerical accuracy by the loss of the ancient data upon population numbers and his clear recognition of the fact that the margin of error in his calculations was very wide. See Beloch's study, *Die Volkszahl als Faktor und Grundmesser der historischen Entwicklung* in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXI (1913), p. 324.

(5) Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 101. A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 47, approaching the problem from a different angle from that of Beloch, gives the population of Athens and the Piraeus as about 155,000 in 430 B.C. and about 168,000 in 330 B.C. His figures are based upon the assumption that about one-third of the population of the entire state lived in the city area. It is my belief that he exaggerates the number of the slaves in the city proper.

Sicilian cities of Syracuse and Agrigentum (1). The typical cities ran from 20,000 to 100,000. Few, even of these, were backland towns. The large urban aggregations were all seaboard. As defined in terms of ancient transport, of city food supply and of public health and welfare, there is little reason to believe that cities of this time with the thalassic locations characteristic of Mediterranean urbanism, had outgrown the bounds of simple urbanism, or of optimum population, into the field of that vague social menace called hyperurbanization. Pöhlmann himself was quite aware of the moderate size of even the largest cities in the Greek classic age. Accepting this conclusion, he confined his discussion of overpopulation to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (2).

The period of the big cities of antiquity covers the six and one-half centuries extending from the death of Alexander to the end of Constantine's reign. The typical urban community, so far as population goes, falls within the limits of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. The list includes a very large number of towns ranging about an estimated population of 20,000, such as Pompeii, or approximating 50,000 to 60,000, such as Italian Tarentum or Halicarnassus in Asia Minor (3). The number of cities which can definitely be placed within the population range of 100,000 to 200,000 is surprisingly small. It includes Pergamum, Rhodes and Jerusalem (4). Ephesus and Smyrna may have had as many as 225,000 inhabitants (5). The number of the real megalopolities which we can be sure of, if we rely upon Beloch's estimates, is only five. These five of which the population range was from 300,000 to the 700,000 or 750,000 sometimes ascribed to Rome, were, in addition to Rome, Seleucia on the Tigris, estimated at 600,000, Antioch on the Orontes at 400,000 (6). Alexandria at somewhere near 500,000, and the possibility that Carthage, in the Roman imperial times, may have approached that number (7).

The conspicuous observations to be recorded from the Beloch estimates of urban populations are these:

In the long period of the acme of ancient urbanism five cities stood out which, within their time, were great population centers. Four of these — Seleucia, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome — were administrative centers of

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

(2) Pöhlmann, *Übervölkerung*, pp. 7-8.

(3) For Pompeii see Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 480; for Tarentum and Halicarnassus, pp. 302, 227.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 227, 248 respectively. Possibly Tarsus falls in this population class, *ibid.*, p. 238. The information upon Pergamum derives from Galen, the well-known physician of the second century of our era, who was a native of the place. It is the most precise evidence which has come down to us regarding the population of any city of antiquity. The wide range of variation proposed by Beloch even for Pergamum will serve to warn the reader against accepting any of the figures of Beloch otherwise than as approximations toward the truth.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 231.

(6) Seleucia *ibid.*, p. 479. Beloch, p. 245, puts the free population of Antioch at 300,000. It is my own guess that the slave numbers would not be over 25% to 30% of the free persons which gives the total of 400,000 used above. See my rough estimate of proportions of slaves to free in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XIV, p. 76.

(7) The Alexandrian estimate is given by Beloch in his *Bevölkerung*, p. 259. Roman Carthage is compared in size with Alexandria on p. 467.

great kingdoms or empires. In three cases definite explanations can be offered for the attainment of that big-city size which was normal under ancient conditions of trade, of transportation facilities and of food requirements. This normal size for megalopolis may roughly be put at about 300,000. Both Seleucia and Antioch lay upon the southern caravan route from the Aegean Sea and Egypt to middle Asia. In Ptolemaic times Alexandria became the outlet for the trade in aromatic plants used in the manufacture of incense and for other goods supplied by the east African coast and southwestern Arabia, to all Mediterranean markets. With these shipments went the large volume of surpluses of the handicraft production of Alexandria itself and of the busy towns of the Egyptian *chora* (1). The discovery of the constant direction of the monsoons, shifting from and toward India in six months periods, made the city founded by Alexander the Great at the western edge of the Delta the port of exchange for a large part of the goods between the two distant cultural and economic worlds of India and the Mediterranean. This importance of Alexandria was augmented by a comprehensive trade policy inaugurated by Augustus Caesar (2).

Briefly summarized the population of the three great centers, Seleucia, Antioch and Alexandria, were justified, in considerable degree, by their positions at nodal points upon very important trade routes. But it was the political function in the case of these cities which accounts for the population bloating beyond that conception of urban bigness which seems to be organically justified and typical during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The function of Carthage in the Roman period was almost wholly economic. The constant economic need of a city situated upon or near its side is sufficiently proven by the modern population of Tunis, its present counterpart, which was given in the census of 1936 as 219,578 (3).

(1) M. J. Rostovtzeff, «Zur Geschichte des Ost und Südhandels» in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* IV, 298-315, and his more general discussion in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII 134-135. Ulrich Wilcken's publication of a bottomry loan made in Egypt upon the incense trade of the Red Sea shows how widespread the participation in this business was in the Mediterranean world in the second century B.C. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LX (1925), 89 ff.

(2) M. L. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), pp. 27-30; H. Idris Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, pp. 306-307. The admirable location of Alexandria and the farsightedness of Alexander in its selection explains the continuity of its historical function as economic center. In 1840, at a low ebb of its importance, its population was estimated at 60,000 inhabitants (Malte-Brun and Balbi, *System of Universal Geography*, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 823). Its present population is given at about 1,000,000 in 1949. The *World Almanac* for 1928, p. 620, put the number of its residents at 573,000.

I have wondered if Ernest Kornemann could substantiate from ancient sources his reference to Alexandria, made in *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lombroso* (Milan, 1925), p. 245, as «the hated Greek city on the sea». A fragment of Polybius quoted by Strabo, XVII 1, 12, C 797, states that Polybius, when he visited Alexandria, developed a feeling of loathing for the city. The quotation does indicate that he felt an active dislike for its mongrel population. Except in the Christian Fathers, in their anger at «the harlot city» which clung to its pagan worship, I fail to find any real feeling of hatred for the place. A large collection of the ancient and modern references to Alexandria will be found in A. Calderini's *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano* (Cairo, 1935), I, pp. 55-206. The attitude of the Christian writers appears on p. 180.

(3) *Whitaker's Almanac*, 1948, p. 893. Even at a low ebb of population, about 1840, under the blight of nominal Turkish rule and before the common use of steam transportation, the population of Tunis was estimated at about 100,000. See Malte-Brun and Balbi, *Universal Geography*, p. 828.

Ancient Rome is the city which, above all others, has been the source of our modern exaggerated views of over-population in the world of Greco-Roman antiquity; and it was completely atypical. Never did it have, after the Punic Wars, any economic function commensurate with its numerical greatness (1). It was an overgrown city of homes, a consumer of goods, the military and bureaucratic center of a great empire (2).

The three ancient megalopolies which owed their size solely, or predominantly, to political function — Seleucia, Antioch, Rome — were further untypical in that they are all non-thalassic. The extraordinary size of the other two — Alexandria and Carthage — is economically explicable. The outstanding fact of ancient urban history is that mesopolities were the rule, not the tremendous human agglomerations which we associate with the term hyperurbanism. I would therefore urge that a renewed study of city and rural district in antiquity be started, without starting from the presupposition that an economic imbalance between the country populations and the size of cities was necessarily atypical feature of ancient society.

On this basis the question may now be put: — What was the feeling which appears in the ancient literature regarding the countryside and country people as contrasted with the urban populations? Otherwise stated, was the «rural bias» which the sociologists of our day still feel constrained to combat, actually prevalent in Greco-Roman antiquity? From the political point of view there was little reason for the development of this sentiment under the Greek conception of the city states. For, in the city states, the citizen privileges of office holding, of voting and of fighting for the state were held on the tribal theory that citizenship was heritable (3). Citizenship was in no sense dependent on geographic distribution. The voting booths for the elective and legislative activities of the direct assembly were, it is true, in the city proper; but aside from the handicap of his greater distance from the center of political activities, the farmers of the three plains of Attica and the charcoal-burners of the hills had complete equality of voting with any city-dweller. In the period of the independent Greek city-states one a priori consideration arising from the economic character of Greek life operated strongly against the development of a class struggle based upon country life against city life. This lay in the restriction of the right of land ownership to members of the citizen body and in the limited opportunities for capital investment. These facts set a premium upon investment in farm lands. Because citizenship, and with it the right to own landed properties, was an accident of birth which might befall a poor man as it might a rich man, the money interests of the wealthy citizen of urban residence were never completely divorced from those of the land-owning and land-working poor man of the countryside if he were of citizen status. In the history of Rome's development, after

(1) Beloch, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXI (1913), p. 335.

(2) See the commendable study upon *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome* by Helen J. Loane, Baltimore, 1938. Covering in her book the period of Rome's greatest size and highest power from 50 B.C. to 200 A.D., Miss Loane has supplied the detailed information for the general conclusion already reached by Beloch that Rome was not a manufacturing city in any sense comparable to its size.

(3) After 451 B.C. in the Attic state the inheritance of citizen rights was confined to those of full Athenian blood both from the father and the mother.

200 B.C., into an Empire with dominions overseas the famous *latifundia* of Italy and the provinces certainly destroyed this healthy balance. But the big landowners of the Roman world never completely identified themselves with big-city life to the point of complete abandonment of their rural contacts. The conflict which they represented was that of the oppression of little farmers by big farmers. The *latifundists* had their city homes, it is true. But also they maintained rural homes upon their estates; and the feeling was not prevalent in antiquity that the countryside and the small farming folk were being exploited by the classes of urban dwellers with industrial and banking interests which differentiated them as essentially city people.

In Greek literature the first phase of anti-urban expression, that of dismay and fear of a change obviously destructive to the then existing social forms, had passed before 600 B.C. If this early and naive reaction to city life were anywhere to be found it should be in Hesiod's poems. I find no trace of it. His world was one of injustice done to the hardworking and the honest. The petty princes of his time were bribe swallows and their decisions were crooked (1); but there was no distinction between townsman and rustic in respect to the suffering which their crooked counsels caused.

In the literature of the Greek city-state period little support is to be found for any anti-urban feeling prevalent in the countryside. Even when Thucydides gives his unforgettable description of the ravages of the plague at Athens he does not blame the cities themselves as breeders of disease. The epidemic strick Athens most severely and, elsewhere, it affected the most populous places. As for Athens, the crowding of the people of the countryside into the city, was a direct result of the war plan of Pericles; and it served to aggravate, only, the misery which originally the plague alone had caused. In the funeral oration delivered by Pericles in the year 431 B.C., as it comes to us from the pen of Thucydides, the sacrifice of those who died was made for the *polis* as state, not for the urban residents of Athens. The yearly sacrifices and games which were provided to refresh the citizens from their labors were those of the countryside as well as those of the city of Athens (2). In the spirit of this great speech «*polis*» always means the state. Nowhere does the city alone, as urban center, appear as distinct from the state. In fact the physical city itself, Athens, receives no mention in the entire oration. Pride in the state and the advantages which it brought to its citizen members had no local limitation either to the *asty* (the walled city) or to its rural territory. The distinguished French scholar Maurice Croiset has maintained that the comedies of Aristophanes catered to a feeling of hostility held by the citizens from the rural districts against the city of Athens and the leaders whom the city admired (3). The caricatures of the democratic favorites in the comedies, in Croiset's judgment, represent the revenge which

(1) *E.g.*, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 260-264.

(2) Thucydides, II 38. See the article of W. S. Ferguson, «The Salaminiot of the Heptaphylai and Sounion». *Hesperia*, VII (1938), pp. 45, 71. The maintenance of the group organizations and spirit of the old village and other local units into the fourth century, as exhibited in the history of the *gene* of the Sounians and the Salaminiot, must have done much to satisfy the local feeling within the state.

(3) M. Croiset : *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes* (Paris, 1906), pp. 6-11.

the ruralite took upon these demagogues. Upon closer analysis this interpretation of the old comedy, as representing a hatred of the simple Attic countryside against the war mongering and the sophisticated ways of the Athenians of the city, does not hold (1).

« Divine Nature gave us the fields, human art built the towns ». So says Varro in the book which he wrote with the intent of proving the economic and social value of farming, and of enticing the Italians of his day from absentee landlordism back to farming under personal management. This is a contrast between nature and art, rural scene and city — not a value judgment upon the societal advantages of country life and city life. The assumption is commonly made that Greek and Latin literature is full of the contrast of the simplicity and health of country life as opposed to the sophistication and social distempers of urban living. Or the idea may be reversed. City life produced a type which felt itself, in its greater sophistication, superior to the country man, the boor. In the extensive literature of antiquity which deals with primitivism (2) there is surprisingly little mention of that urban life which is the outstanding feature of Greco-Roman culture skirting the Mediterranean. To the primitivists human society had, indeed, degenerated progressively in its passage from the idealized simplicity of the early days of mankind to the days of earth's « gradual tabescence », to quote from the talented and thoughtful Lucretius (3). It was luxury which had degraded mankind. But this luxury of living is not connected specifically with urban life. No more is its opposite, the degradation caused by poverty, connected with rural life alone.

The « blameless Ethiopians » (4) were not holy and pious because they lived in the simplicity of rural surroundings. Nicolaus of Damascus indeed, distinctly places them in towns with streets (5). In fact the entire literature of primitivism shows a surprising indifference to the setting of its primitives, whether in cities or in country surroundings. The blessed people of the Sun-state of Iambulus lived in the fields in separate groups which did not run over four hundred (6). The Essenes, a small group which lived in a communal society in Palestine at the time of Jesus, avoided city life because of its lack of discipline and the contamination of character unavoidably connected with urban living (7). But the Hypoboreans of Diodorus lived in cities (8). The fabled ideal land of Meropis contained two immense cities

(1) See A. W. Gomme's article, Aristophanes and Politics in *Classical Review*, LII (1938), p. 98. In *Acharnians*, 33, Dicaeopolis looks out upon the fields, hating the city and longing for his own deme. But he is a farmer, long cooped up in a crowded city with nothing to do. This is merely the desire for his own life and his own work in a man torn up by the roots through the exigencies of war.

(2) The ideas of the ancient primitivists have been conveniently presented and discussed by A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas in their *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1935.

(3) Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura* II, 1162.

(4) Homer, *Iliad* I, 423.

(5) Nicolaus Damascenus in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* XLIV 25 (45 in Meineke's edition).

(6) Diodorus, *Siculus* II, 55-60.

(7) Philo, *Quod omnis probus* XI, 49.

(8) Diodorus, *Siculus* XI, 15.

of 2,000,000 inhabitants each (1); and Lucian wrote a parody upon the Isles of the Blest in which the central unit is a great city of gold with a wall of emerald (2). The Germans, as their forthrightness is compared by Tacitus with the sophisticated mores of the degenerate Italians, lived in villages of disconnected houses — not in cities (3). Nowhere, however, does Tacitus imply that the absence of urban life among them was a cause of their moral superiority.

The Romans of the Republic — at least as represented by Cicero — were more clear than the Greeks in distinguishing between physical city — *urbs* — and the city as political entity — the *res publica*. If the Roman Senate, says Cicero, had taken away from Capua its magistrates, its senate and its public assembly, it would have cut out the nervous system which is the dynamic part of the political unit called a *res publica*. Only an *urbs* would remain (4). To paraphrase Cicero's meaning, a *res publica* has a nervous system, namely, its political machinery. An *urbs* has it not.

What depth of feeling between urbanites in the Roman period and men of the small towns does this actually represent? How deeply did the small-town man resent the city? Horace may serve us as a type. A townee of humble origin, he received his education in the big city. For this boon he was grateful (5). Always there clung to him an undoubted love for the restfulness of the small town. The wish that his old age may be lived at pleasant Tibur is genuine enough (6). A simple man whom simple things pleased, nevertheless Rome was to him the « regal » city, however much empty Tibur and unwarlike Tarentum pleased him (7). His feeling for the country is that of the weary sophisticated who has spent years in the crowded city and appreciates the restfulness of mall-town life. He may talk of the « madness of the city » (8); but the growth of cities is, nevertheless, to Horace one of the factors in the forward movement of man from primitivism to cultured living (9). It was the molding hand of dire poverty which made the Roman heroes of the old days the men that they were. It was not country life *per se* (10).

It is the literature of the early Empire which set the fashion of painting the life of the big city in distressing colors, with its many discomforts for the poor and the envy aroused in the literary hangers-on of the rich by their vulgar exhibitions of « conspicuous waste » on the part of the financially fortunate.

In a speech delivered in the Senate in 44 B.C. Cicero illuminated for us, in one of those flashes of light which are rare in antiquity, the feeling of a

(1) See the fragment of Theopompus in Jacoby, *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* II B, p. 551.

(2) Lucian, *True Histories*, II, 4-16.

(3) Tacitus, *Germania*, 16.

(4) Cicero, *de lege agraria*, II, 32, sections 88, 90 and particularly in section 91, *nervis urbis omnibus exsectis*.

(5) Horace, *Satires* I 6, 71-78.

(6) Horace, *Odes* II 6, 5-8.

(7) Horace, *Epistles* I 7, 44-45.

(8) *Rabiem. . . . civicam* in *Odes* III 24.

(9) Horace, *Satires* I 3, 104-106.

(10) Horace, *Odes* I 12, 41-44.

man like Marcus Antonius, Roman born and descended from one of the old leading political families, for the politicians who hailed from the municipalities of Italy. « You see » — Cicero is speaking to the Senate — « how all of us are despised who are from the municipalities. That means all of us, obviously » (1). Without doubt there was some feeling of superiority in this limited group, which Marcus Antonius represented, over the sons of the municipalities. This scorn Cicero, mentally alert as he was (2), skillfully turned against his clumsier opponent.

During the early days of his consulship in 63 B.C. Cicero waged successfully before the Roman people fight against a crooked bill called the Rullan Land Proposal (3). Though he was fundamentally honest in his opposition to the Rullan Bill, it would be too naive of us to take Cicero's arguments against the bill at their face value. He was hitting straight from the shoulder not necessarily talking straight from the heart. He was a Roman politician; and Roman politicians were not exactly ingenuous. He urged his Roman hearers not to be wheedled into supporting a bill for land assignments which were agriculturally sterile and situated in an unhealthy locality. When he contrasted the advantages they already enjoyed through their urban life in Rome he was calling upon arguments which certainly would appeal to his Roman listeners. « So far as you are concerned, Romans, if you wish to listen to my advice, keep that possession which you have — of gracious living, of freedom, of the suffrage, of favoured position, of the city, of the forum, of the games, of festival days, and your other advantages. Do this — unless perhaps you prefer to renounce all these things and the glamor of the fatherland to be installed under Rullus' leadership in the arid territory of Sipontum or in the pestilential area of Salpini » (4).

Such were the advantages of life in the city of Rome, or the sources of advantages which could be enumerated in appeal to those inhabitants who were of its lowest citizen stratum.

From the literature of one period, the early Empire, and from a literature which dealt with one city, we have derived that picture of ancient urban life which dominates the vibrant pages of Pöhlmann's *Übervölkung* and, in his wake, has colored most of the present writing about urbanism in antiquity. The period was that covered by the Roman rule of the Claudian and Flavian dynasties. The city was Rome, the most crowded and the least typical city in the entire circuit of Mediterranean lands. The outstanding writers in this genre are three — Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Martial, and Juvenal. The first two were townsmen from Spain who lived most of their productive lives in Rome. Juvenal may have been Roman born, from the most crowded of its

(1) Cicero, *Philippic* III 6, 15. Compare Cicero, *pro Publio Sulla* 7, 22 where he says that he was accused of being the third «foreign king» of Rome.

(2) Note how skillfully, again in *Philippic* III 6, 15, he uses a simple statement of fact to the detriment of Antony. Antony had stated that the mother of Octavianus Caesar was from the town of Aricia. Cicero twists this innocent remark into an intentional insult.

(3) For an interesting analysis of the Rullan Land Proposal see M. D. Rostovtzeff, «Some Roman Problems», in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept. 26, 1925.

(4) Cicero, *De lege agraria* II 71-72.

streets, the Subura (1). Of the three, the poet Juvenal made his living as an exponent of the straight satire. The other poet - Martial - had made his reputation by turning the Greek epigram into a Latin polemic-satiric form. These two were hangers-on of the artificial life of the imperial court and its satellites. This was a society which harbored nostalgic memories of the days when to be a Roman resident in Rome still meant freedom to say what one might wish to say. The earliest of the three, Seneca, was a political figure of stoic faith, who, without converting himself or anybody else, was grieved about sin (2). If one desires to read realistic descriptions of ancient city life one may find them in a photographic mime of Theocritus or in the mimes of Herondas, who was utterly without any feeling of modesty and utterly without moralistic inhibitions. Their pictures are credible; but those of the Roman satirists are not. It was the profession of the satirists to caricature; and the stencils which they used were fairly constant and unchanging.

The famous third satire of Juvenal is the classic source of most of the anti-urban diatribe. What was it that the supposed city-haters complained of? Of «the thousand perils of the cruel city», of its fires and the constant threat of falling houses, and of the poets who gave matinees in August (3). Of the necessity for bluff and display if one was to get onward (4). There is no living to be made by honest skill in any calling in the city (5). But there is a living to be made by a pleader of cases in Gaul or Africa; and Juvenal's disgusted Roman urges the lawyer to go there (6). In Rome, rent, food and clothing are high (7). The expenditure required for clothing at Rome, where one must dress well, is much higher, for example, than in Martial's birthplace in Spain where one toga will last you through four autumns (7). The apartments of Rome are many storied and the poor man must live up under the roof where the cooing pigeons lay their eggs (9). The height of the houses is a matter of constant complaint to Juvenal and Martial; but the architect Vitruvius extols the increase in building height at Rome as a sensible method of furnishing excellent living quarters for an increasing urban population (10). Pöhlmann preferred to follow the whimsies or the complaints of the satirists (11). In my judgment it was Vitruvius, the technician and master-builder, who could better evaluate the population problem of the city and better assess the soundness of its solution.

(1) Gilbert Highet in *Trans of the American Phil. Assoc.* LXVIII (1937) p. 489, note 54.

(2) See the analysis of Seneca's character, as displayed in his writings, by Rudolf von Delius, *Zur Psychologie der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1911) pp. 15-19.

(3) Juvenal, *Satires* III, 7-9. The matter of the falling houses is a literary convention of Juvenal. Cf. *Satires* II, 194. For Martial's satirization of the claqué at matinees see his *Epigrams* VI 48; X 10.

(4) Juvenal, *Satires* II, 105-138.

(5) *Ibid.* III, 21-24. Cf. the poor living earned by teachers at Rome, *ibid.* VII 142, 215 ff. — except by the music teachers of rich men's sons, *ibid.* 175-177.

(6) *Ibid.*, 147-149.

(7) Martial X 96; Juvenal III 166.

(8) Martial X 96, 12.

(9) Juvenal III 199 ff.

(10) Vitruvius, *de architectura* II 17. His phrase is: *populus Romanus egregias habet sine impeditone habitationes*. Cf. Aelius Aristides, *Encomium Romae* Or. XIV, section 199, where the admiration for the «skyscraper» solution at Rome is evident.

(11) Pöhlmann, *Übervölkerung*, p. 90.

Shall we accept or reject an hypothesis emanating from the fertile and brilliant mind of Rostovtzeff which seeks to explain the military and social crisis of the middle of the third century? It runs to this effect (1). At the end of the second century the urban dwellers ceased to appear as recruits in the army (2). The army rosters were now filled with peasants of a lower cultural niveau, recruited in peripheral provinces — Spain, the Gauls, Britain, the Danubian provinces and inner Anatolia (3). These former serfs and *coloni* hated and wished to destroy the cities, because the cities harbored as their residents the leading classes, the senators and equestrian ranks and the *bourgeoisie* upon which the imperial power was based (4).

This is a brilliant attempt to resolve a situation for which no other more adequate explanation had, as yet, been offered. *A priori* it runs counter to the findings of this study which would eliminate from the ancient literature, in large part at least, that city-hatred which customarily has been predicated as characteristic of the ancient social order. The sources used by the great scholar, Rostovtzeff, to substantiate the theory are of an earlier or of a later date (5); and it is doubtful that they will establish, even for their own time, any considerable depth of anti-urban feeling. Against the theory it is possible to enter new materials for the period 200 to 300 A.D., deriving, it is true, from Palestine and Egypt. These date serve to emphasize anew an old conviction, that fiscal pressure from the federal authority of the Empire had gradually spread upward until it covered, with a single blanket of economic wretchedness, the peasants of the countryside and villages, the townes, and the formerly privileged classes of the cities.

The measure which, in the end, enacted in legislative concentration this equalizing of economic oppression was the Constitution of Caracalla (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) of 212 A.D. By Caracalla's decree most of the free inhabitants of the metropoleis and villages throughout the Empire became Roman citizens. This resulted in these places in the establishment of Councils, selected by compulsory appointment from the ranks of the local well-to-do. Privileges and social advantages which had once adhered only to the Bouleutai (the Council Members) of these larger cities which had municipal autonomy were now widely spread to town and country people of the same, or of lower, economic standing. This extension of privileges sounds well. What it really meant, however, was the equalization of town and city classes with classes of the countryside under an increasingly burdensome personal domination. Specifically it meant that the well-to-do of the small towns, now forced into the Councils, were responsible collectively and individually for an amount of taxes from their town or village district which was previously fixed. The

(1) Rostovtzeff's idea was first developed in the *Musée Belge* XXVII (1923) pp. 233-242 and is incorporated in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 443-448 with the data given in notes 63-68 to ch. XI on pp. 627-628.

(2) *Musée Belge* XXVII p. 239.

(3) *Ibidem*.

(4) *Ibid.* pp. 240-241; *Soc. and Econ. History of Rome* p. 443 f.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 628 note 7, Rostovtzeff relies solely upon Libanius *de patrociniis* (or XLVII) which is actually a letter written to the Emperor Theodosius sometimes between 388 and 393 A.D. In the text, p. 446 he mentions also Dio Chrysostom in this connection. The one is much too late, the other much too early, to serve as adequate witness to events in the cities of the middle section of the third century.

pleasant social distinctions of the Councillors had long since turned into heavy financial burdens.

From the middle of the third century and from the town of Arsinoe in Egypt we now have a fragmentary court record of a case argued on appeal before the Roman prefect Aurelius Appius Sabinus (1). To relieve their own distress the Senators of Arsinoe had attempted to dump a part of their tax obligations to the state upon some peasants by compelling them to undertake certain of the magistracies of the town. Counsel for the peasants introduced in evidence a law promulgated by Septimius Severus which forbade impressment of villagers for metropolitan offices with their liturgical burdens (2). The advocate for the side of the senators, addressing the Prefect, then introduced a most illuminating rejoinder: « The laws are worthy of respect and reverence. But you must judge by giving heed to (the decisions of) the Prefects who have had regard for the needs of the city. It is the need of the city which limits the strength of the law » (3).

At a time for which the theory presented by Rostovtzeff would establish a hatred on the part of the countryside so strong that peasant armies sought to destroy the cities, we find that the urban communities and the countryside were united in fact, in a common misery recognized by both sides. It is only a little later that Rabbi Johanan of Tiberias in Palestine gave this advice to men threatened with appointment to the Senates of towns and cities: « If they have mentioned you among the [members of the] Senate, the Jordan shall be thy neighbor » (4). That means: « In such case flee to the Jordan ».

Who could put the equalized wretchedness of city man and peasant of the villages and country with better knowledge, or more succinctly, than did the Prefect of Egypt in the trial mentioned above, over which he presided at Arsinoe? The argument was presented that the Emperor Septimius Severus had passed the law protecting the peasants from impressment for fiscal obligations at a time when the cities were prosperous. To this the Prefect remarked: « The argument based upon prosperity, or the decline of prosperity, is equally valid for the villages and the cities » (5).

(1) The shattered and difficult document, London Papyrus Inventory 2565, was admirably published by T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wegener in the *Journ. of Egyptian Archaeology* XXI (1935) pp. 224-247. Brief references and interpretations of the document will be found in *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1938, pp. 359-361 by H. Idris Bell; and by Paul Koschaker in *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Abt.*, LXVIII (1938) p. 358, note 2.

(2) P. Lond. Inv. 2565, lines 82-83 in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXI p. 232.

(3) *Ibid.* lines 85-87.

(4) Palestinian Talmud, Moed Katan II 81 b. Rabbi Johanan died in 279 A.D. I am indebted to my friend Professor Salo Baron for this reference.

(5) Literally translated his words were: « The argument of prosperity, or of the change from prosperity ». P. Lond. Inv. 2565, lines 99-102, in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXI p. 232.

Alexandrea
ad Aegyptum. A Survey

by

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Alexandrea ad Aegyptum. A Survey

Among all the cities of the ancient world Alexandria must ever hold a place of honour. She alone of the foundations of Alexander the Great rose to the first rank, and she too, has preserved, in recognisable form, her Founder's name. But in proportion to her status her ancient remains are conversely little, and it is not surprising that many writers have attempted the reconstruction of the Hellenistic city. It is our purpose to survey this work, and to indicate certain broad lines for future study.

The main literary authorities have been carefully and accurately collected by Calderini in his «Dizionario di Nomi Geografici e Topografici dell'Egitto Greco Romano» of which we may hope for further volumes. But in the hands of the careless this dictionary can be a weapon of self-destruction, for it makes, by its very nature, no effort to discriminate between its sources. This source-history is all too frequently ignored. Authors are quoted as gospel without the slightest effort to enquire into the authority for their statements. This is particularly true as regards quotation from the Arab historians whose love of the marvellous led them into fantastic exaggeration — if that is not too mild an expression. The author has had occasion to study medieval British writers on the subject of a Roman antiquity, and came to the conclusion that unless proved by archaeological research their statements had to be accepted with the greatest reserve. Time passes, even in antiquity, and an author who writes a thousand years after an event is not likely to know much about it unless he has access to earlier writers, and even then, if he can read them intelligently, he may misconstrue their meaning.

Local patriotism too has provoked much wasted print. Mahmoud el Falaki's plan is clearly largely fanciful, and yet it is still quoted as an authority. By the nature of his age el Falaki could not date what he found (he published 1872, before scientific study of walls, etc. was begun) and it is a commonplace that authors working to «imperial order» tend rather to do as is expected of them. Hence his streets and walls except in so far as they have been verified, should be ignored.

We can also neglect Hogarths fishing village, though we must be careful not to rush to the other extreme and see a vast and flourishing city. It was a fort, Strabo says so, (17.1.6) neither more nor less, until proved, and the absence or presence of objects of the Pharaonic age can only be accepted when they are proven to be of local application.

This leads us to the vexed question of the Serapeum, on which recent excavations have shed much new light, and I shall beg the reader's indulgence for reviewing the work in detail. At present we have but a preliminary report, and until the pottery etc. is fully published a concise judgment is of course impossible.

Mr. Rowe has corrected most of the assumptions made by Dr. Botti which called for it, and is to be congratulated for reviewing all the evidence to date. I have read somewhere, alas I cannot recollect where, that perhaps Pompey's pillar was carved out of the obelisk of Nectanebo II. This might solve the problem of how the column was erected inside the arcades. And as regards the inscription (1) built into its base and restored 'Αρσινόην Φιλαδέλφον. I am not happy as to why the name should have suffered something akin to «damnatio memoriae» if it refers to Arsinoe II.

The published plans (2) show no difference in levels, which are in fact considerable and may assist in the solution of reconciling the site to the literature. A careful study of air photos should prove helpful. At present the material is insufficient to make a tolerable restoration, still less to explain what the Roman walls are doing. As masonry they seem too poor to be Hadrianic, and if, as Wace (3) suggests, the Jews wrecked the temple at the end of Trajan's reign, it is curious that there is no reference in literature, though such an inference is in itself precarious.

Now we come to the Mausoleum (4). The thickness of the walls indicates a large building, but to argue that because its plan is similar to the real Mausoleum, that there was a trierarchy at Halikarnassos for the Ptolemaic fleet, and that an Asian (?) pot was found on the site is like a future archaeologist saying that because there was a British Boys School in Alexandria the foundations of the tower of the Scottish Church must have held an edifice like Big Ben. Also, if it is true that sherds of the 3rd cent BC were sealed above the floor of the «Mausoleum» then it must have been constructed in the early third or late fourth century, and cannot have been a Royal tomb, for the earlier Ptolemies were buried with Alexander in the palace area. Or was the Serapeum the palace area? And why was the tunnel secret? Maybe it was, but it should not be so marked on the plan (5). Are secret passages 2.60 metres wide?

The other and deeper tunnels would appear to be storage vaults. Whatever they are they were not a library, for papyrus would soon rot in so porous a rock, even if faced with stone. As for a Mithraeum, so far as I can recollect, all Mithraea had a Mithras relief at the east end, and benches at the sides, but again it would be hard to find traces of them in limestone.

In the second Report the list of foundation deposits, though in itself useful, does not add materially to the argument. For Greece, as stated, there is no evidence, and Greece and Palestine are not the only two countries of the Hellenistic world.

One would be glad if excavation reports could be made to contain all the material, including coins and pottery, for if they do not there is a great danger (I could quote examples) of these useful, if humble items never seeing the light of day. No one can fully interpret someone else's finds. There is plenty more to be done, and it will be of profit if it is not rushed. The contents of every pit should be classified — an easy task with rock-cut pits, which abound in the plans, yet we have no word about sherds of common wares. Finally surely a better photo of the gold plaques — a highly interesting discovery — could be given to posterity than the badly lighted plate II and the blank lumps of plate X?

But the reader may justly feel that destructive criticism is not enough. What of future activity?

Firstly, and most important, the Museum must not only be open, but must display all its material. If this means building a new one, then treasure hunters must be ignored and all funds devoted to building an adequate and enlargeable edifice. There is much to be said for the growing idea that all digging save that occasioned by building operations and chance discoveries should be suspended until all past work is published and all museums are in order.

Breccia and Adriani have promised us but we have never had, catalogues of sculpture, mosaics, and lamps. The stamped amphora handles are unpublished, and the inscription catalogue could be revised and re-issued. Of vases, a comparative study of the Hadra and similar materials is long overdue, and the red-figure and black-figure fragments call for separate treatment. «Kleinfunde» such as bronzes, bone objects, etc., and also glassware can be added to the list.

Then, as Adriani began to do, a map of Alexandria should be made, showing the location of all known finds, but care should be taken to distinguish between chance material, and walls etc. in situ (see below). The rock cuttings under the sea at Chatby show that the land has sunk since ancient times, and it is surprising how no one has hence seen that Jondet's constructions seen off Ras el Tin, in so far as they are blocks and not rocks, are as one would expect the Hellenistic harbour works. Again, an air photo of the comparatively shallow eastern harbour might help to place the Timonium and Antirrhodos — whose absence today is surely another proof that the land has sunk.

Here it is fitting to utter a warning about the use of «in situ». It is best illustrated by an example.

- (a) A column drum found in its place in a colonnade is in situ, but
- (b) if it rolls off onto a grave, a photo of the grave may (wrongly) be captioned «Grave with drum in situ».

This may seem obvious when baldly stated, but when smeared with verbal jam the bread of truth is often obscured. For example a head found between Canopus and Hadra need not necessarily have been carved in Egypt, still less be a proof of an Alexandrian school of art. The presence of a sarcophagus in somebody's cellar means nothing whatever unless there are associated facts.

I am not at all sure that the stone object mentioned by Rowe (6) and earlier writers and inscribed Διοσκουριδου Γ τομοι is not a fake. Its present absence is perhaps significant. Even if it is not, it has no bearing on the site of the Library, for 1500 years of builders must have moved most of the portable material many times.

At this point I venture to launch an appeal for the abolition of the term Graeco-Roman, a phrase invented by lazy and bigoted Egyptologists. The period can be divided into Hellenistic, Roman and Coptic at least, and these can be subdivided into Early Middle and Late. No archaeologist worthy of

the name should date an object outside of this scheme, and if he plead that he has insufficient parallels, then we must plan to supply them. Even the Graeco-Roman museum contains Coptic material, and this, of course overlaps into Early Islamic.

Excavation is still carried out on principles long obsolete elsewhere. Pits, totally ignored, likewise foundation trenches, slopes, and roads are visible on every site in Alexandria. As one who has had to clear a 6-metre deep mediaeval cesspool of little save its constituent substance my heart bleeds when I see a pit full of pottery has been ignored in the treasure hunt for statuary.

For future work in Alexandria then, I suggest:

1. Study of SOURCES of ancient writers.
2. Study of Air photos.
3. Continuance of work on the Serapeum.
4. Continuance of work on the Chatby Necropolis — well published, but we could learn more now.
5. Test pits on vacant sites in the town.
6. Verification of the route of the Arab and Hellenistic walls by test trenches.
7. Cross section of the great fosse by the Rosetta gate to determine its date.

Finally may I append a reply to Professor Wace's recent article on the Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great, where he suggests it may be identified with the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II, now in London. Against his view:

- a. Would a Greek be buried in an Egyptian sarcophagus in view of the current separatist feeling.
- b. The presence of the sarcophagus in Alexandria can be explained on the same lines as that of Cleopatra's Needle
- c. Had Alexander been buried in it would not the priests have changed the cartouches, for which there is ample precedent, even if it is not demanded by religion
- d. Was Ptolemy unable to pay the finest Greek sculptor then living, (and he had plenty of choice) to carve a sarcophagus, or was he likely to miss the chance for the display of his power and wealth?

However, the problem is mainly academic, and one may be forgiven for feeling that the Great Emathian sleeps with his honour as his best shroud.

D.T.-D.C.

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Universities
and
University Cities in Europe

H. J. FLEURE

University and University Cities of Europe

The Dark Age following the decline of the Roman Empire in Europe led men to gild the memory of what was, in comparison, a reign of law. During that Dark Age in the west the chiefs of the Christian Clergy of the Roman Cities, called *Episcopi* (in English, Bishops) were sometimes almost the only persons of any education left. They and the church developed prestige which was specially great in the case of the bishop of the old imperial city of Rome. After the fifth century he had no emperor in Rome to rival him and he extended his spiritual jurisdiction wherever Christian teachers penetrated in western Europe. His relation to the old jurisdiction became restricted with some modifications of frontier, to what had been the Roman Empire in the west. He lost England and north Switzerland, which had been within the Empire and retained a large part of Ireland which was outside the Empire as well as Hungary, Bohemia, Slovakia & Poland. His influence was, however, immensely strong in southwest Europe, in which Roman assimilation had gone so far as to make the vernacular languages daughters of Latin. Pilgrimages to Rome became an important social feature, «the city» its ecclesiastics were busy with them and with the government of the spiritual life of western Christendom.

When the revival began after the Dark Age we hear of medical studies at Salerno in South Italy and it has been asked, but not decided finally whether we have there a survival from Greek days centuries before or an importation from Islamic Africa of some ideas surviving in North Africa from Greek tradition. Salerno certainly became famous in the second half of the eleventh century, but it died away later on as a centre of study and is not usually classed as having been a University. The revival brought a re-growth of cities, and it more or less coincided in time with an effort of the church to enforce the rule of celibacy on its parish priests (secular clergy) as well as its monks (regular clergy). So, on the one hand, there was need to think of law in connection with the growing complexity of intercourse and exchange, and, on the other hand, priests must henceforth be recruited from the people in each generation and there must be study of the law of the church and of its doctrines and ritual. It had come to be thought that doctrine and ritual must be uniform in all regions under the Pope's jurisdiction, allowing for a minimum of compromises with pre-Christian practices and belief in various localities. The use of Latin in the ritual and general government

of the Church helped to maintain uniformity as well as to make Latin the language of education generally for centuries.

The road to Rome for men of western and northwestern and central Europe lay through north Italy when intercourse and towns were growing. Groups of guilds of students in various north Italian towns sought teachers of Latin, law and Theology if they could get sufficient protection from the local ruler. The beginning of privilege made a complex story. But it is generally agreed that Bologna, the place when all roads meet to go through the Apennine pass on the way to Rome, became an important centre of studies. The university there dated its foundation 1110. Much student activity was going on there before that time. At what stage in the growth of organization the name university became appropriate is a question to which there is no answer. Some students of university history would give a date after the middle of the 12th century making Bologna, in this respect little older than Paris if indeed as old. We may take it as the senior centre of studies of law (civil law and canon law) and theology, to which were soon added medicine and philosophy.

Padua probably owes its foundation as a university to a group of students migrating from Bologna. It prospered partly because it was a place where roads met & whence lay the way south across the lower Adige and Po to Bologna and Rome. The roads which met included that across the Alps via the Brenner, concerned with Venetian traffic, and that which came from northeast Venetia and lands beyond. Also, Padua was on the mainland opposite Venice.

Pavia claims an extreme antiquity for itself as a centre of studies. Formally it became a university in 1361 and prospered. It again is at a meeting of roads from west and north, with the way onward to Bologna along the Via Emilia.

In the early Italian centres of study, of which 3 have been mentioned because they are still important as universities, the attitude of mind was that of accepting a venerable tradition in religion, law and medicine as authoritative, of commenting on it but not yet of observing and experimenting to discover new truth.

It is an important fact that centres of study did not develop in the growing cities of commerce, Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence and others. The peoples of these cities used a part of their wealth in encouraging the fine arts, — painting, sculpture, architecture, fine metal work and so on. These activities gave scope for initiative and experiment which might be repressed among university students with their eyes fixed on an authoritative past. The fine arts were a line of escape in Europe though subjects of pictures were limited for a long time by the authoritarian tradition. In the Dark Ages prejudice on both Islamic and Christian sides had limited intercourse, a prejudice less strong among the people of Venice, who did not look back to a Roman past, but were the descendants of fisherfolk who had found a home and refuge among the islets of the famous lagoon. Venice was ready to take opportunities of trade anywhere, profited greatly thereby. On the Islamic side the Dark Age was shorter, despite the crudity shown in destroying the

library of Alexandria. The cloister as an architectural and social feature was taken over by the Islam from early Christianity in southwest Asia and Egypt was greatly developed at IBN TULUN (868 A.D.), Cairo. Probably Islam may have a share in handing on this idea to western Europe. Silk had come from China to the Eastern Roman Empire and so it reached Islam which took the industry to Sicily, thence it spread to Milan which was situated in a region suited to growing the mulberry for silkworm food. Ideas of pottery again from China were adopted and developed in early Islam Persia and passed on to North Africa and Andalusia, from which last the idea of glazing pottery reached western Europe as its revival preceded. Dark Age pottery in Europe was poor. Elements of Greek medicine and mathematics were also passed on from Islam to Christian Europe. But the Islamic world fell into misfortune in the cultural sense just about the time that, on the Christian side, initiative and experiment were finding scope in the fine arts. The Mamluks were oppressing Egypt. Mongolian peoples were oppressing Southwest Asia and neither group was intended in fine arts or popular initiative.

In university matters on both sides the tradition was authoritarian not enquiring.

EL AZHAR (founded 988) was concerned with the Islamic, Bologna (1110?) with the Roman and Christian heritages. EL AZHAR has stood above all other centres in Islam though, CORDOBA was a place of study frequented by Christians as well as Muslims for a while. On the Christian side a number of centres of study sprang up, and thanks to the common use of Latin, scholar might go from one to another, but if he deviated from orthodox beliefs he would be subject to persecution everywhere. The analogy with what happens under authoritarian attitude was so little mitigated at the universities in spite of the fact that southern one, like Bologna, began as student guilds. One must realise that studies were concerned with precious manuscripts and that the copies were often made by monks who became their custodians, a probable restrictive factor. The importance of widespread contracts for the prosperity of a centre of university studies in the middle Ages is one of the points illustrated by the universities of Bologna, Pavia and Padua. At Bologna the colleges for students residence were an important feature and the name of the Spanish College then has lasted to the modern times. EL AZHAR also emphasised residence, but nowhere has so much importance been continuously attached to this as at Oxford and Cambridge where halls, often at first private venture, were taken over by the university authorities and in all but a few cases sooner or later transformed into colleges with experienced scholars in control. Several universities or study centres were begun in Christian Spain, but few did very much except Salamanca, a university from 1243. This is mentioned here because it again illustrates the idea of wide contacts. The city is near the north east (Christian) end of a lowland way through the middle Sierras. So the south of these Sierras is what have become New Castile and Estremadura, provinces fought over and devastated on the wars between Islam and Christianity, and in any case rather arid and scarcely peopled. So Salamanca was decidedly on the

Christian side, yet not without Islamic contacts. Perhaps it is relevant here to repeat the story that Christopher Columbus found support for his heterodox plans from the university of Salamanca which was interested in mathematics. It is interesting that it was Salamanca and not Toledo that had the historic university. Toledo, at a Tagus crossing south of the middle Sierras, was an outpost of one side or the other in the long wars, and became the ecclesiastical metropolis of Roman Catholic Spain when the Islamic power declined. Madrid was created after Spain was united under one crown in the 15th. century, so does not enter into the early story of study centres. Paris, Prague, 1348 Cracow, 1364 Vienna, 1365 and Heidelberg, 1385 and other universities are instances of another idea. Paris began in the twelfth century, the others in the 14th. Paris illustrates a closely linked system of royal and ecclesiastical authority finding mutual help in stiff struggle to maintain and extend authority. Paris is an almost uniquely rich cross roads, a focus of authority not a city «on the way» between one cultural region and another. Its university began to develop colleges for residence, but this did not attain much success though the name of one of them, La Sorbonne, is often used to designate the university as a study centre. Prague, Cracow, Vienna, Heidelberg were all princely centres, again foci rather than palces on the way to some other centre. Cracow and Prague in a sense also illustrate the idea of culture contacts that has been discussed above. Prague has the Palace fortress of the Hradcany with the cathedral within it. A commercial city with a German infusion developed across the river and in it there grew the university. Cracow, again has its palace fortress and cathedral on the Wawel hill, and like Prague it developed a commercial city with a German infusion and, again, in it there grew a university. Vienna is of course one of the great cross roads of Europe, at the gate between steppe and forest, at the southwestern end of the Moravian gap, fated to be a vital forepost in the struggles between Europe and the Turks and therefore an imperial city with a university as a rallying point for western Christianity in the long fight.

Oxford and Cambridge are like Paris and others in that they were from the start universities of teachers gathering students around them, not student guilds finding and employing teachers. But they are like the old universities of north Italy in that they are stations «on the way» between different regions, but regions less different from one another than was the case as for example, Bologna and Salamanca. The dates of foundation at Oxford and Cambridge are very indefinite but something was in active working before the year 1200. Oxford on the way from the English Midlands to the South Country of Chalk Hills with its pilgrims way to Canterbury, it is also on the way from the sheep - and - wool country of the Costwolds to the great market of London. On its High Street the church of St. Mary the Virgin has a northern porch which is said to have been the first place in which universedity teaching was given. Outside the City Wall the fairground with the church of St. Giles, patron of itinerant vedors, illustrates the gathering of men at this centre. Cambridge, likewise, is «on the way», indeed on a sort of isthmus between area on the south, it communicates between East-

Anglia on the east and the English Midlands on the west. It had the annual Stourbridge Fair, long one of the most important in England.

The King of England might have a residence at each of the two university cities, that at Oxford has disappeared, but the Masters Lodge at Trinity College, Cambridge, is a royal place. But neither city is really a royal centre, and the fact that there were two, and that they were rivals made the development of authoritative pronouncements by either much less feasible than it was at Paris with its combination of royal and ecclesiastical backing.

It is noteworthy that in Germany, as in North Italy, early university did not develop in the commercial cities of that period. The Hanse towns did not have universities in the Middle Ages. Indeed universities developed rather late in Germany, Heidelberg being the senior one dating from 1385, nearly 40 years after Prague, and twenty years after Cracow and Vienna. A specially important case is that of Leipzig (1409), then a city of growing commercial importance at an entry in the tangle of hills and valleys of mid-western Germany.

The capture of Novogorod the Great, the Hanse outpost in Russia, by the growing power of Muscovy disturbed the old established for trade via the Baltic. A land route via Poznan and Leipzig Fair became a European event. Business made Leipzig an important centre for legal decisions as much as that even the Bismarkian German Empire maintained its Supreme Court of Judicature at Leipzig. Further, as the university was developing in the late 15th century the art of printing was spreading, and after a while Leipzig became famous for printing and publishing, especially in the 19th century. Basel is an interesting and important case, in some ways a forerunner of the modern civil university. Old established burgher families are a great feature at Basel and the university is largely their « Child ». The city is on the margin between French and German, and between Romanist and Protestant regions with a leaning towards the Germanic and the Protestant side, but a wide outlook that helped to make it, for some years, the home of Erasmus.

The Roman Church founded the university of Toulouse in the thirteenth century as part of its policy, in cooperation with the king of France, to repress the independent thought of the people of the south who came to be known as Albigenses. In the 15th century the university of Louvain in Belgium was founded with intent to defend the doctrine of the church against growing criticism.

In Scotland, also, the church was concerned with the foundation of the universities. Roads were few and poor and communications were chiefly via coastal waters. St. Andrews the archbishopric of the east coast developed university in the 14th century. Glasgow, the archbishopric of the west coast, followed with a university founded in the mid fifteenth century.

Aberdeen founded a supplementary university (for a time) for the northern part of the east coast towards the end of the 15th century. Edinburgh nearly a century younger, is not a royal creation though it is in a capital, the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland has more claim

to the paternity. For the 16th century, the spread of Greek learning and of printed books and the ecclesiastical quarrels which led to the retreat of the Pope of Rome more or less behind the frontiers of the old Roman Empire, with some deviations, are both widely recognised as highly significant. A third change, even more fundamental, is often insufficiently even wrongly, considered. Copernicus, Christopher Columbus, Leonardo da Vinci, Vesalius, Conrad Gessner and Galileo, to name only a few investigators, made enquiry and experiment, observation and inference, hypothesis and criticism a part of equipment of learning. Consciously or unconsciously they brought forward the idea of truth as a goal towards which we strike, the implication is that theories and beliefs are provisional and subject to adjustment, that «we know in part».

Though Newton was for some years a Professor at Cambridge, the new movement grew to a large extent outside the universities. In England it was fostered by the Royal Society of London founded in 1662 after a period of gestation at Oxford, the Society was said to be concerned to increase «natural knowledge» and so the movement under review is often spoken of as growth of natural science.

This is inadequate. The idea of the search for truth led men to try to treat history philosophically. Montesquieu wrote *«l'Esprit des Loix»*, strangely reminiscent in parts of Ibn Khaldun's still more important *Prolegomena* written four centuries before. Gibbon gave a subtle commentary alongside of his chronicle of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The effort to reach truth in history, again at first largely outside the universities, led on to archaeology and triumphs of Boucher de Perthes, Schlieman and many other enlarged our view of the human story. Archbishop Usher's 6000 years became 600,000. Classical Greek life was seen developing from *Ægean Prehistory*. Champollion led the way towards a growing but still very inadequate understanding of ancient Egypt. Charles Darwin made the world seem an ever changing maze of reactions, and Einstein's relativity seems to carry the idea still further. Most of these thinkers worked outside the universities which so often still had their gaze averted from actual life. We should turn aside for a moment from this stream of observation, experiment and calculation to think of the Fine Arts. In the late sixteenth century whale fisheries brought to maritime western Europe blubber from which, with potash, cleaner soap could be made to replace the old kitchen stuff of home fat and wood ash. This cleaner soap made white starched ruffs fashionable. Moreover, in the countries which had become Protestant, the old religious pictures were no longer in vogue, indeed were considered Popish. Painters seized the opportunity to make portraits of magnates in their ruffs and to show the improved house interiors that skilled craftsmen were making for the merchants of the new time. They also painted landscapes studied for their own sake, now observation of nature had become a recognised activity. Rembrandt, Ruysdael, Vermeer, Hals, de Hoogh and few of the Dutch geniuses of the time. Holland had welcomed refugees and had the reward of possessing Spinoza and force while Descartes in philosophy, Lcuwenhock in biology, Huyghens in Physical Science, and Grotius in International Law, as well as her

glory of artists, but most of this remarkable flowing was outside the universities.

It was the same with music. Italian craftsmen were making new types of instruments in the early 17th century. The Lutheran Church in Germany, unlike the Calvinist in Switzerland and elsewhere, sought to beautify its services, and we get the succession of musical composers that developed through Schütze its culmination, and almost its end, in John Sebastian Bach. The Imperial Court at Vienna also takes up the new musical possibilities later on, and we get the unique succession, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, Brahms, Strauss. But as in the Middle Ages, the fine arts are mainly outside the universities. The Faculty of Music in a university is often weak even though its personnel may be very distinguished.

The Industrial Revolution based on coal and steam machinery burst upon the world in the eighteenth century, with England entering first into this dangerous experiment. In England coal was found in many places that until then had only small populations. Machinery was brought to the coal, it was too costly to move bulky material such as coal any further than was necessary. Small towns such as Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Glasgow and so on grew apace, with few to take thought of the quality of life within them but many eager to get skill in technical processes. Applied Science developed from the early nineteenth century onwards and brought a flood of inventions, and mechanics. Educational Institutes became Polytechnics and Colleges of Technology. Attempts to understand humanity in this new setting and to infuse something of the old cultural tradition into this new life of huge agglomerates led to the founding of new universities in England, civic universities, of which that of the Renaissance period at Basel may be called a distinguished forerunner. It became indeed, a widely current idea that a city of a certain size, for the sake of its own dignity, should have a university. Medicine, Science, Applied Science are obvious Faculties in these cases then is always a Faculty of Arts but it is often rather weak and overshadowed, in Britain, by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Faculties of law and music are, often, not very strong as yet. The spread of Literacy with the cheapening of paper and printing in the 19th. century, added to the establishment of schools for all in several countries, led to a great increase in university students and many universities have been founded or have expanded greatly. The case of Berlin is of special importance from its foundation in 1810 as a new institution at this period, it naturally paid special attention to the search for new truth, while adopting a good deal of the other tradition of commenting on ancient texts. From university development the movement searching for truths went on to the foundation and endowment of Research Institutes, and these sometimes seem as though they might divide themselves off from universities, probably to the detriment of both.

The requirement of religious orthodoxy for membership of university has ultimately vanished, or almost vanished, in the majority of countries. It lingered until 1872 at Oxford and Cambridge, and, as a result, London developed university education free from tests of orthodoxy in the early 19th.

century. Now London has a whole network of institutions in different parts of the capital. The contrast between the 19th. century creation in London and the 12th. century creation in Paris, much changed from its origins, is a dramatic one.

Oxford and Cambridge have maintained through the centuries the idea that students should live together, side by side with more experienced scholars. This gives in each university a number of residential colleges. Some with a special relation to some part of the country Balliol College Oxford to Glasgow, Jesus College Oxford to Wales and so on. Bologna had national colleges for student residence. El Azhar has some residential systems. But the great majority of universities 19th. century gave but little attention to this problem save to some extent in the case of women students. In the 20th. century, halls of residence for men and for women have multiplied and Union Clubs have multiplied also. The Cité Universitaire has been developed at Paris and Brussels and is spreading. It is widely felt that the art of living together and tolerant discussion is a large part of education, and that in a Cité Universitaire or a Hall of Residence, there can be opportunities for cultivating the arts, drama, music, design and so on.

One hope in this way, for an enlarging of the bounds of truth and beauty by bringing the two lines of research nearer to one another without restricting or repressing either.

But it is before and above all the spirit of enquiry, of free enquiry, and expression in tentative and humble not in arrogant and authoritarian fashion that has become the very essence of the university ideal, and that is being attacked and persecuted in certain parts of the world today.

It is but free enquiry and frank discussion, acknowledging the provisional nature of all theories, hypotheses and beliefs, that the stream of truth flows on. As it is not only for the sake of the search for truth that this freedom needs to be cherished and defended, not only because it leads to the most unexpected results, even in the matter of practical applications such as the many that have arisen from work by Gregor Mendel or Ernest Rutherford, but because a faculty, a section, a department in which the spirit of enquiry shines forth is in nine cases out of ten a school in which even undergraduate students at the earliest grades learn how to learn and think for themselves, and so to gain understanding that memorising can never give.

PSYCHANALYSE DE L'ART

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PSYCHANALYSE DE L'ART

Les peintres et les poètes modernes semblent s'orienter de plus en plus vers une forme d'art qui échappe aux normes de la raison. Un tableau de Picasso, un poème d'Eluard, s'ils ont un sens, s'ils éveillent en nous une émotion, ne peuvent s'adresser qu'à des formes de penser ou de sentir très obscures, et les auteurs de ces œuvres eux-mêmes se proclament incapables de les expliquer rationnellement. L'esthétique fait donc ici directement appel à l'inconscient. Les Surréalistes ne prétendent même pas faire autre chose que de nous offrir les productions de leur Moi profond, pures de toutes les déformations que pourrait leur faire subir la réflexion ou la simple conscience. Ils se placent donc volontairement sur le terrain même de la psychanalyse.

Cette nouvelle doctrine esthétique ne peut nous choquer que par son parti-pris ou ses excès. Mais, dans son principe, elle n'est pas nouvelle. Lorsque les Anciens parlaient d'inspiration ou d'enthousiasme (dans le sens étymologique du mot), lorsqu'ils faisaient du poète un nourrisson des Muses, n'est-ce pas l'influence incompréhensible de l'inconscient qu'ils décrivaient sans le savoir ? Ainsi Platon, dans le dialogue intitulé *Ion*, démontre que l'artiste n'est pas maître de son art. S'il l'était, il pourrait aborder tous les genres avec un égal succès. Or ce n'est pas le cas. Par exemple, le rhapsode Ion, qu'interroge Socrate, n'est inspiré que par les poèmes d'Homère. Son talent ne s'explique donc ni par une technique ni par une science, mais par une force divine. Cette force est dispensée par la Muse et, par l'intermédiaire du poète et de son interprète, se transmet jusqu'à l'auditeur, à la manière d'une action magnétique, à partir d'un aimant. Ce n'est donc pas le poète qui parle lui-même, mais la Muse qui s'exprime par sa voix. L'inspiration est un don divin ; les auteurs n'en sont pas maîtres, ils n'en ont pas conscience, et elle suppose même chez eux une perte momentanée de la faculté raisonnante.

Changez les mots, remplacez la Muse par l'inconscient. Vous ne gagnerez rien à cette opération, mais vous aurez l'illusion d'employer un langage plus scientifique et vous serez en pleine psychanalyse.

Mais, dira-t-on, pourquoi l'inconscient a-t-il besoin de s'exprimer sous forme d'œuvres d'art, et pourquoi cette expression arrive-t-elle à plaire au lecteur et à l'auditeur, à lui donner une certaine satisfaction ? C'est Aristote, cette fois, qui répond à la question. L'œuvre d'art, dit-il, nous permet de faire jouer, de satisfaire artificiellement les tendances et les passions que, normalement, la société nous oblige à réprimer. Ainsi, en assistant à une tragédie, nous libérons de façon inoffensive le besoin inné en tout homme d'éprouver des émotions violentes. En termes freudiens, on dira que l'art permet à l'auteur et au lecteur de satisfaire, en les sublimant, les pulsions que la cen-

sure sociale, son surmoi moral, refoulaient dans son inconscient. Telle est bien la théorie aristotélicienne de la catharsis, de la purgation ou purification des passions. On le voit, les principes de la psychanalyse de l'art ne sont pas nouveaux. Platon avait vu déjà dans l'inconscient la cause première de la création artistique, et Aristote y avait trouvé le but même de l'art.

Comme l'étude de l'inconscient a fait certains progrès, il est tout naturel qu'on se soit efforcé aujourd'hui d'expliquer de façon plus précise les rapports de l'art avec l'inconscient. Il n'y a là rien qui puisse étonner ou choquer. Soit, dira-t-on, mais la théorie platonicienne s'appliquait à la poésie inspirée et celle d'Aristote au drame. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une œuvre classique ou d'un roman de Zola, où est l'inspiration de la Muse, où est la fonction de purification ? Ici, la construction consciente et rationnelle se révèle primordiale.

C'est exact, et il est peut-être même à déplorer que les Surréalistes aient cru pouvoir faire fi des règles, de la logique, du travail de la réflexion, du bon sens même. Cependant, devant l'œuvre d'art la mieux construite, la plus classique, la plus consciemment élaborée, on pourra toujours se demander pourquoi l'auteur a choisi ce sujet plutôt qu'un autre, pourquoi telle image, tel rythme.

On ne soutiendra tout de même pas qu'une œuvre est le résultat mécanique de certaines règles, et qu'on peut construire un poème comme on résout une équation. Si l'œuvre est originale, c'est qu'elle recèle, dans son ordonnance classique, une invention, et cette invention, étant personnelle, ne pouvant pas être celle de n'importe qui, le raisonnement et la conscience n'en rendront jamais compte entièrement.

Même l'écrivain qui se prétend objectif, impassible, impersonnel, fait toujours un choix, et ce choix il le fait avec tout son être, avec son inconscient comme avec sa conscience.

La psychanalyse peut donc nous éclairer sur la création artistique. Qu'est-ce en effet que la psychanalyse ? C'est essentiellement une méthode d'exploration de l'inconscient. Or l'inconscient, par définition, ne se révèle pas directement à nous. Seules ses conséquences, seuls ses effets dans la vie consciente nous permettent de l'étudier, comme les symptômes externes permettent de déceler une maladie interne. Ses principales manifestations sont les rêves, les rêveries même, les névroses, les idées et les actes involontaires, bref tout ce dont le sujet ne parviendrait pas lui-même à donner une explication rationnelle. La production artistique entre donc, pour une large part dans ce cadre.

L'inconscient ayant pu être étudié par ces moyens indirects, quelle est la description que nous en donne la psychanalyse ?

Dans ses couches les plus profondes, il est constitué par les instincts eux-mêmes, ou, si l'on préfère les tendances fondamentales de l'homme, profondément ancrées dans l'organisme. Au-dessus se trouverait l'inconscient collectif, connu surtout par les travaux de Jung, et que Baudouin appelle « le

primitif», qui est commun à tous les hommes, et s'exprime par des symboles d'une remarquable fixité. Au même niveau se situe le Surmoi qui est une sorte de censure inconsciente, et qui représente un premier effort du social pour réprimer l'instinct. A un niveau plus élevé, on trouve l'inconscient personnel, qui, lui, n'est pas commun à tous les individus, mais se constitue au cours de leur existence particulière et surtout de leur enfance. On l'appelle aussi le subconscient. Il comprend d'une part le préconscient, c'est-à-dire les éléments momentanément absents du champ de la conscience, et, d'autre part, les éléments refoulés qui tendent à se détacher du moi et à s'amalgamer à l'inconscient collectif.

Telle est la description qu'on obtiendrait en faisant, comme l'a tenté Baudouin, une sorte de synthèse entre les théories de Freud et celles de Jung. Tous ces éléments ne sont pas réellement séparés, et les symboles ou les images par lesquels ils s'expriment réalisent un passage des régions les plus profondes jusqu'à la conscience.

La psychanalyse de Freud étudie plus spécialement l'inconscient personnel, et celle de Jung l'inconscient collectif. C'est pourquoi, lorsque ces méthodes s'appliquent à l'analyse des œuvres d'art, on voit les freudiens s'intéresser surtout à la vie de l'auteur, et les disciples de Jung donner une interprétation plus générale de l'œuvre. En fait, les deux écoles se complètent sans s'exclure.

Comme la psychanalyse est née de la pathologie mentale, il n'est pas étonnant que les freudiens aient souvent traité les artistes comme des névrosés.

Ils se sont d'abord demandé quelle raison pousse, par exemple, l'écrivain à se livrer au public. Son œuvre n'est-elle pas pour lui un moyen de se libérer de ses propres conflits intérieurs ? Ou bien il exprime directement, en les sublimant, en leur donnant une forme artistique, ses désirs cachés, et l'art aurait alors la fonction même que lui assignait Aristote. Ou bien il éprouve devant ses impulsions un sentiment de culpabilité dont il veut se soulager en faisant du public son complice, et c'est pourquoi il est assoiffé de l'approbation de ses lecteurs. Ces deux explications, en fait, ne sont pas contradictoires. Et, dans les deux cas, le psychanalyste pensera avoir donné une assez bonne explication des œuvres quand il aura trouvé le complexe inconscient qui s'y exprime.

De tout façon, également, on pourra dire que l'écrivain cherche à se soulager de son conflit, à s'en libérer. Aussi bien la seule différence entre l'artiste et le névrosé est-elle que le second paye un médecin pour se faire soigner, tandis que le premier essaye de se guérir en vendant ses œuvres au public.

Or la névrose s'explique en général par la fixation d'un complexe à un stade infantile. Par exemple, le complexe d'Œdipe qui, chez l'homme normal est liquidé avant l'adolescence, subsiste, plus ou moins bien refoulé, dans l'inconscient des anormaux. Aussi bien s'exprime-t-il dans les tragédies classiques comme dans les mythes, avec une fréquence étonnante, ainsi que Rank l'a bien montré.

Parfois, le complexe est difficile à saisir parce qu'il est traduit sous forme indirecte. Ainsi, chez Hamlet, le complexe d'Œdipe n'apparaît que dans les hésitations mêmes du héros. Le jeune prince n'arrive pas à se décider à tuer celui qui a pris la place de son père. C'est, dit Freud, parce qu'Hamlet reconnaît en lui l'homme qui a réalisé son désir inconscient, le désir œdipien.

Mais, si cette explication est jute, en quoi nous éclaire-t-elle ? Elle nous fait comprendre, répondent les psychanalystes, pourquoi Shakespeare a écrit ce drame, comment il a inconsciemment conçu son héros. Est-ce à dire que Shakespeare était lui-même obsédé par un complexe d'Œdipe mal liquidé ? Telle est bien la pensée de Freud. Et il souligne que l'auteur écrivit Hamlet aussitôt après la mort de son père.

Mais les successeurs de Freud ont, avec raison sans doute, trouvé cette interprétation trop simple. Les éléments refoulés ne s'expriment jamais directement dans les rêves diurnes; la Censure ou le Surmoi ne le leur permettraient pas.

Pourquoi donc en serait-il autrement dans la production littéraire, que Freud assimile lui-même au rêve diurne ? Si Shakespeare était troublé par le complexe d'Œdipe, il n'aurait pas, pour cela, imaginé ou choisi un héros atteint du même mal. Edmund Bergler propose une explication moins simpliste et plus acceptable. Shakespeare aurait dû refouler un complexe plus grave et plus dangereux socialement que celui d'Œdipe, plus infantile surtout, et, par compensation, luttait contre un plus grand mal en exprimant un complexe qu'il n'avait plus. De même, lorsque Stendhal, dans ses *Confessions*, (c'est-à-dire dans la Vie d'Henry Brulard) s'accuse cyniquement d'avoir trop aimé sa mère et haï son père, un psychanalyste trop pressé de triompher pourrait oublier que, normalement, le complexe d'Œdipe ne doit pas affleurer à la conscience. Il est donc plus vraisemblable que Stendhal refoulait un autre complexe en s'accusant du péché d'Œdipe.

Cependant, même avec ces corrections, que nous apprend la psychanalyse ? Elle nous renseigne sur la personnalité d'un auteur, elle rend plus intelligible le rapport de l'écrivain à son œuvre et elle éclaire même l'œuvre en révélant les intentions cachées qu'elle recèle. Mais elle ne nous dit pas pourquoi cette œuvre est belle, pourquoi le complexe, au lieu de se traduire sous forme névrotique, est devenu un produit de l'art. Autrement dit, cette explication n'a pas de valeur esthétique.

Soyons justes, et ajoutons que Freud lui-même n'a jamais prétendu le contraire. Il écrit, en effet :

« L'analyse ne peut rien nous dire de relatif à l'élucidation du don artistique; et la révélation des moyens dont se sert pour travailler l'artiste, le dévoilement de la technique artistique n'est pas non plus de son ressort ».

Et Badouin insiste également sur le fait que la sublimation est créatrice.

Éclairer l'œuvre par des complexes, ce n'est pas la réduire à des instincts. Ainsi, dit Badouin, l'analyse, « si elle met en continuité les éléments primitifs, infantiles, sexuels, avec les floraisons supérieures du cœur et de l'in-

telligence... ne prétend aucunement par là réduire les derniers faits aux premiers. Elle se garde de dire à un phénomène: « tu n'est rien que... »

Baudoin a donné l'exemple de cette prudence scrupuleuse dans sa «Psychanalyse de Victor Hugo».

Aussi bien la critique formulée par Albert Béguin dans «L'âme romantique et le rêve» ne saurait-elle atteindre que les disciples égarés de Freud. « La psychanalyse, dit-il, appliquée à l'œuvre d'art, la traite comme un document, un ensemble de symptômes, et ne s'y appuie que pour parvenir à une étude de l'auteur, de sa vie, de sa névrose. Cette démarche n'en saisit que les relations avec la psychologie de l'auteur, relations qui ont leur intérêt humain, mais qui restent absolument extérieures à la qualité comme à la portée du poème ».

Cependant, puisque l'inconscient n'est pas tout entier personnel, selon les vues de Jung, puisqu'il existe au plus profond de nous une structure plus généralement humaine de l'inconscient, la psychanalyse, en descendant jusque là, peut espérer expliquer l'œuvre dans sa signification universelle, et non plus seulement dans ses rapports avec la personnalité de l'auteur. En même temps, elle échappera au danger (trop évident chez les freudiens) d'assimiler l'artiste à un névrosé. Elle expliquera surtout pourquoi l'œuvre nous touche, pourquoi elle trouve un écho dans toutes les âmes si elle est vraiment inspirée par l'inconscient collectif, ce qui ne l'empêchera pas d'être personnelle, car c'est justement quand l'écrivain met tout son être en jeu qu'il est à la fois personnel et universellement compris. Ainsi se trouvera écartée une autre objection que l'on pouvait faire à l'interprétation freudienne: comment les lecteurs peuvent-ils s'intéresser à une œuvre qui exprime surtout (même sous forme artistique) des complexes qu'un homme normal n'a plus en lui ?

Or une des particularités de l'inconscient, qu'il soit d'ailleurs collectif ou personnel, c'est de se manifester sous forme d'images. Quand on songe au rôle de l'imagination dans tous les arts, on ne s'étonne pas que le domaine de l'esthétique, comme celui du rêve, soit un véritable champ d'action pour tous les produits de l'inconscient. Or ce qui a conduit Jung à postuler l'existence d'un inconscient collectif, c'est précisément la remarquable constance de certaines images, douées d'une valeur émotive bien déterminée, dans certains rêves, certaines œuvres d'art et certains mythes.

Il arrive bien souvent qu'à la lecture d'un poème ou d'un roman nous éprouvions des émotions que nous n'arrivons pas facilement à expliquer. Telle image nous touche étrangement. L'écrivain serait généralement incapable d'expliquer lui-même cette réussite. Le psychanalyste n'est pas aussi désarmé: cette image, il peut la retrouver, bien souvent, dans un rêve ou un mythe qui en éclaire le sens — Jung, dans son livre «Métamorphoses et symboles de la Libido», s'est livré à une étude comparative de ce genre, qui est singulièrement féconde.

Cette méthode d'ailleurs, peut se combiner fort heureusement avec la méthode freudienne.

Considérons, par exemple, un des sentiments dont le rôle est manifestement immense dans les œuvres d'art: l'amour. Les freudiens nous feront d'abord comprendre pourquoi tel auteur nous en donne une image déformée. Beaucoup de poètes inspirés sont, sans aucun doute, affectés de certains complexes qui, chez l'homme ordinaire, ont été éliminés au sortir de l'enfance. En ce sens, l'homme de génie est souvent un enfant ou un névrosé. Pour Verlaine, Gérard de Nerval, Baudelaire, par exemple, le fait est certain. Chez Musset, on décèlerait aisément une volonté de rester enfant. Et le Faust de Goethe exprime sans doute un désir très humain de ne point vieillir qui s'est anormalement réalisé dans l'inconscient de bien des écrivains. Or, rester dans l'enfance sur le plan de l'inconscient, c'est en garder les complexes, par exemple, ceux de la première enfance, du stade oral qui, certes, survit dans une certaine mesure chez tous les hommes habités par le démon de parler et d'écrire. Or la fixation des tendances à un stade pré-œdipien entraîne généralement une certaine incapacité d'aimer vraiment. On l'observe assez bien chez les névrosés. Quant aux écrivains inspirés, il est visible que la plupart d'entre eux ou bien n'ont jamais aimé normalement, ou bien ont consommé leur vie dans une poursuite don-juanesque, parce que, précisément, leur amour ne pouvait pas se fixer. Selon Bergler, c'est par une réaction ou une compensation inconsciente que ces auteurs auraient, dans leurs œuvres, présenté un tableau excessif de l'amour. Cette exagération les justifierait devant leur Surmoi, et leur permettrait, en somme, de se dire inconsciemment: « Je ne suis pas incapable d'aimer, puisque, dans mes œuvres je crée un amour grandiose: mais l'amour réel est toujours trop petit pour moi ».

Les lecteurs ont donc tort de croire que les écrivains sont objectifs, et de se faire eux-mêmes une idée de l'amour d'après les livres. Il en résulte souvent bien des déceptions, quand l'homme moyen, trompé par les poètes sur le véritable amour, cherche à réaliser un idéal romantique purement fictif. On en arrive ainsi à ce paradoxe signalé par Oscar Wilde: « La littérature imite rarement la vie avec profit; mais la vie imite la littérature ». Cependant, Juliette Boutonnier (1) explique autrement l'obsession de l'amour telle qu'elle se manifeste dans la littérature. Si la société assure un tel succès aux romans et aux poèmes d'amour, c'est parce qu'elle souffre elle-même de l'incapacité d'aimer. En réalité, les deux thèses sont probablement exactes. La littérature reflète l'état d'âme de la société, et, par compensation, fait une place excessive à l'amour qui est en réalité le grand échec social; mais les œuvres littéraires, par contre-coup, entretiennent et exacerbent cette insatisfaction. Il y a là un cercle.

La psychanalyse jungienne nous conduit encore plus avant, avons-nous dit, dans la compréhension des œuvres d'art, en interprétant les symboles par lesquels s'exprime, en se sublimant, le désir ou au contraire l'effort compensatoire des écrivains et de leur public.

L'analyse que Denis de Rougemont a faite de « Tristan et Yseult » montre que ces deux héros symbolisent une sorte de substitution du désir de la mort à l'amour véritable, et, par là-même une tendance profondément hu-

(1) — Revue Psyché, No. 16.

maine, mal refoulée par le christianisme, entretenue par l'hérésie cathare, à déguiser l'attrait de la mort sous les traits de l'amour.

C'est encore cette équivoque inconsciente que traduisent souvent les représentations de l'Anima et de l'Animus. L'Anima est l'image féminine que chaque homme porte en lui et qu'il s'efforce souvent de refouler. Si l'on étudiait ce symbole chez des poètes tels que Verlaine, on s'apercevrait qu'il recèle en effet l'ambiguïté de l'amour et de la mort. Par cette étude, la psychanalyse nous éclaire sur certains poèmes qui, sans elle, resteraient incompréhensibles.

L'union du thème de la mort avec celui de l'amour charnel conduit souvent à l'évocation du cygne. Le cygne, comme le désir, meurt en chantant.

N'allons pas, surtout, penser que la métaphore du cygne «se réduit» à cette explication. Bien au contraire, elle est un produit de l'imagination véritablement créatrice, et c'est le poète qui lui donne toute sa valeur. Mais pour bien la comprendre, il faut savoir ce qu'elle signifie pour l'inconscient collectif, et c'est donc la psychanalyse qui nous apprend pourquoi le poète l'a choisie, et pourquoi elle éveille en nous telle émotion particulière.

Or les symboles ne sont pas isolés; ils sont associés par leurs valeurs émotionnelles, et forment des chaînes ou des cycles, dont le centre dynamique est un complexe de l'inconscient collectif. La vertu propre de l'imagination artistique et créatrice est d'élever l'âme à travers les chaînes archétypiques d'images. Le jeu mystérieux des symboles, dont la continuité profonde est inconsciente chez le poète lui-même, est un effort de sublimation de l'image et du complexe.

Le symbole du cygne est en relation avec celui du soleil qui, lui, aussi, meurt avec éclat. Or, comme le fait remarquer Jung, le mot germanique Schwan provient du radical Sven, tout comme le mot Sonne. De même, en anglais, Swan et Sun. N'est-ce pas cette interprétation onirique du cygne que l'on pourrait apporter quelque clarté sur les sentiments que nous éprouvons, par exemple, en écoutant le Cygne de Saint-Saëns ?

M. Bachelard a donné une excellente analyse de ce thème dans son livre «L'eau et les rêves». On pourrait s'étonner qu'il le rattache en conclusion à celui de la lune, alors que Jung l'associe au mythe solaire. Mais il faut bien voir que les images ne sont pas étudiées ici dans leur réalité objective. Ce qui compte, c'est leur valeur archétypique. La lune a aussi la vertu d'associer en nous le sentiment de l'amour et celui de la mort. On n'en finirait pas s'il fallait citer tous les poèmes, tous les fragments romanesques où la promenade amoureuse au clair de lune a une étrangeté qui s'alimente précisément à l'ambiguïté de ce symbole.

Et Verlaine, poète de l'amour, plus que tout autre peut-être, marqué par la névrose et l'incapacité d'aimer normalement, associe inévitablement la lune aux scènes amoureuses.

Voici la fin d'une de ses «fêtes galantes», pourtant joyeuse:

«Embrassons-nous bergères l'une

Après l'autre

Messieurs eh! bien?

Do mi sol do

Hé! Bonsoir la lune!»

Et quelle lumière donne cet astre à cette autre scène:

«La lune blanche
Luit dans les bois
De chaque branche
Part une voix
Sous la ramée....
O bien aimée».

Il s'agit, ici encore, d'un tableau plein de gaieté. Pourquoi faut-il donc que Verlaine y ait jeté la lumière pâle de la lune ? N'est-ce pas son inconscient qui, par ce symbole, est venu ajouter l'ambiguïté qu'il portait au fond de lui-même devant l'amour ?

Du cygne à la lune, la chaîne des images passe par l'eau. Mais, comme toute image, l'eau peut recevoir différentes valeurs émotives. Dans le cycle lunaire, nous trouvons l'eau profonde, qui évoque à la fois l'amour et la mort, et que M. Bachelard rattache à deux complexes importants: celui d'Ophélie et celui de Caron. Ophélie symbolise l'incapacité d'aimer que manifeste Hamlet, et en même temps, le mécanisme de compensation chez Shakespeare. Pourquoi, dira-t-on, cet écrivain, désarmé devant l'amour normal, a-t-il associé son héroïne à l'eau ? C'est parce que son inconscient y projetait l'appel de la mort, parce que l'amour était son propre échec. Et voici Ophélie qui chantonne au bord de la rivière «comme un être qui se serait trouvé là dans son propre élément». Par ces images, les poètes enrichissent la représentation même que nous avons de l'eau; c'est grâce à eux que nous pouvons la rêver.

La psychanalyse peut s'appliquer avec un même succès à bien d'autres chaînes symboliques. Elle nous permet alors de comprendre pourquoi, sans le savoir, le poète utilise telle image et pourquoi tel vers nous ravit. C'est que les choses, dans l'art, comme dans le rêve, parlent à notre inconscient et non pas à notre raison. Demandez à un astronome ce que c'est qu'une étoile. Il ne vous dira rien qui vous explique «cette obscure clarté qui tombe des étoiles». Corneille, sans doute, n'a pas la réputation d'un poète inspiré qui écoute les voix de son inconscient. Et pourtant, il a retrouvé là l'ambiguïté essentielle de la lumière nocturne qui, dans une seule image, fait vibrer en nous quelque mystérieux complexe profondément humain.

Enfin, au-delà même des symboles particuliers qui correspondent à la sublimation d'un conflit psychique déterminé, on trouve aussi les images de l'inconscient lui-même. C'est le poète qui se trouve confronté, sans le savoir, avec son Moi des profondeurs. Souvent, il ne le reconnaît pas; il en fait une Ombre, ou un personnage de son roman, de son drame. C'est la Muse des Nuits de Musset. Ce sont les «personnages en quête d'auteur» de Pirandello. Et, lorsque l'écrivain parvient à se reconnaître dans cette image, alors cette ombre prend l'aspect étrange d'un fantôme ou d'un personnage lugubre. C'est encore «cet étranger vêtu de noir et qui me ressemblait comme un frère» de Musset. Les métamorphoses sont alors tellement claires que, pour-

rait-on dire, l'œuvre est souvent comme un essai de psychanalyse de l'auteur par lui-même.

Ici, les deux méthodes d'investigation peuvent donc s'appliquer. D'une part, les freudiens pourront étudier tout ce qui, dans le personnage projeté, dessine l'histoire de l'inconscient personnel de l'auteur, et l'expliquer par telles régressions ou fixations en relation avec certains événements déterminants de l'enfance. D'autre part, les jungiens en verront la portée universelle, et une illustration du drame intérieur de tous les hommes. Par exemple, les quatre personnages que l'on retrouve si souvent, avec des caractères bien déterminés, représentent les quatre éléments principaux de la Psyché, et que Baudouin appelle spirituellement les quatre personnages en quête d'unité. Les rêves des névrosés nous les présentent avec la même netteté que les romans. Souvent, d'ailleurs, le quatrième est absent, mais se manifeste dans l'ombre, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent dans les œuvres d'imagination, où le personnage principal n'apparaît pas directement, mais se révèle par son action sur les autres. La signification de ces quatre éléments a été particulièrement explicitée dans l'œuvre de William Blake. Nous y trouvons, en effet, quatre personnages, Urizen, Los, Tharmas et Luvah, qui représentent très exactement la raison, l'imagination, l'instinct et le sentiment.

Si l'on songe que le travail principal de l'inconscient est de réaliser un équilibre et de forger l'unité de la personne au-delà des forces primordiales souvent divergentes, on ne s'étonnera pas que l'écrivain, en faisant agir ses personnages, essaye de trouver pour son compte une solution à ce problème qui est celui de l'humanité entière. Et le personnage qui, souvent, manque au tableau, c'est généralement celui avec lequel l'auteur s'identifie dans la réalité et que, pour cette raison, son Surmoi inconscient ne laisse pas venir au jour.

Ainsi la psychanalyse, à condition qu'elle ne soit jamais une tentative pour réduire le supérieur à l'inférieur, peut nous apprendre beaucoup sur les productions artistiques. Elle nous renseigne d'abord sur l'auteur lui-même et nous révèle que les rapports entre sa personnalité et son œuvre sont parfois très différents, de ce qu'une analyse superficielle aurait pu faire croire. On lui reprochera d'assimiler trop souvent l'écrivain à un névrosé. Mais d'abord un homme de génie ne peut pas être absolument un homme normal. Et, d'autre part, même Freud n'a jamais prétendu qu'il n'y avait rien de plus dans l'art que dans la névrose. D'autre part, faisant abstraction de l'auteur et s'attachant à l'œuvre elle-même, la psychanalyse nous apprend ce que peut être une création authentiquement humaine. Toute création doit être une sublimation, et par conséquent, réside dans la valeur qu'elle donne à une symbolisation dont les premiers éléments sont donnés dans l'inconscient collectif. Certes, tout cela ne tend nullement à exclure ou à masquer l'effort conscient, la technique proprement esthétique. Mais, comme Platon l'avait bien vu, l'art suppose une inspiration. Or cette inspiration échappe à l'analyse rationnelle; elle ne peut venir que d'un inconscient qui est vraiment quelque chose de divin en nous. Il est donc certain que la critique artistique,

pas plus qu'elle ne saurait se réduire à la psychanalyse, ne peut faire fi de ses enseignements. L'art est entouré de mystère. Une méthode nouvelle nous permet de lever un coin du voile. Ce n'est pas un sacrilège. Bien au contraire, une psychanalyse bien comprise doit rendre tout leur prestige aux notions traditionnelles d'enthousiasme, d'âme, de génie, qu'un rationalisme souvent borné tendait à réduire au rang d'idoles déchuées.

Dans le dialogue de Platon, Socrate démontre à son interlocuteur que son art ne peut pas se réduire à une technique consciente. S'il en était le maître, il faudrait dire qu'il est dans l'erreur. Et Socrate demande à Ion s'il préfère, dans ces conditions, être injuste ou divin. Le dialogue se termine sur cette naïve réponse: « La différence est grande ! Socrate. Il est bien plus beau de passer pour divin ».

La psychanalyse risque peut-être de regarder les artistes comme des anormaux. Mais qu'importe, au fond, si, à ce prix, ils redeviennent des êtres divins.

La Muse ne parlait pas à tout le monde. La voici revenue de l'exil où l'avait tenue un positivisme sectaire. Dûment psychanalysée, elle est encore l'inspiratrice de quelques privilégiés tourmentés par un inconscient trop riche. Que le poète reprenne son luth, et lui donne un baiser, selon les mots d'Alfred de Musset.

"The Forty Days of Musa Dagh"

An Epic of Persecution

Days of torment have all too soon
Like the days of winter, long and cold and grey
The number of days is not long, they say,
Like the days of winter, long and cold and grey

"The Forty Days of Musa Dagh"

An Epic of Persecution

D. J. ENRIGHT

"The Forty Days of Musa Dagh": An Epic of Persecution

«Days of misfortune pass and are gone,
Like the days of winter, they come and they go,
The sorrows of men do not last very long,
Like the buyers in shops, they come and go.

Persecution and blood lash the people to tears,
The caravans, they come and they go,
And men spring up in the garden of earth,
Whether henbane or balsam, they come and they go...»

(Armenian folk-song)

Before we can penetrate into the heart of this remarkably rich novel (1), we shall have to say something about its «story», the historical events of the Forty Days, the bare framework of the novel. Yet the word «bare» is inappropriate here, nor is it just to speak of the «heart» of the novel, for this — the inner history of individual spirits — is so inextricably bound up with the outward events of the narrative and the ethical pronouncements to which these give birth, that even to speak of them under the metaphor of different parts of the same body is entirely misleading. But I cannot see that the critic of so little-known a novel may make use of any other mode of approach.

The years 1894-5 were marked by the first wholesale massacres of Armenians in Turkey, under the Sultan Abdul Hamid. There were various reasons for these terrible events, of which the religious division between Moslem and Christian was perhaps the very least important. The Armenians, stateless since the middle ages, had never been assimilated into the Ottoman Empire: an ancient race, with a tenacious culture of their own, they had retained their language (and not merely as a colloquial tongue), their customs and their crafts. King Tiridates of Armenia, converted to Christianity during the latter part of the third century, is said to be the first ruler in the world to have adopted the Christian belief as his State religion. And since that time an extensive Armenian literature has accumulated, in both poetry and prose, mainly of a religious nature. As a monument to later Armenian culture, a thesaurus of the language was compiled in 1836, which gave Latin and Greek equivalents for every word, and of which the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* remarks that, at that time, there was no dictionary of any language comparable for exhaustiveness and accuracy. To the more warlike Turks the Armenians seemed, in Werfel's words, «a race of bookworms»; and Toynbee remarks that «the Armenians may be trusted to establish a school

in every hamlet.» The very individuality, distinctness and tenacity of culture of the Armenians, along with their adroitness both in business and the peasant crafts, might well be expected to arouse the resentment of their neighbours and rulers.

Official justifications of the massacres were based on the growing pro-Russian feeling among the Armenians (several of the leading Russian generals in the 1877 war against Turkey were Armenian) and the existence of a revolutionary movement. The European powers took polite exception to the bloodshed and Gladstone denounced Abdul Hamid as «the Great Assassin». But no action was taken.

That Abdul Hamid's arguments were not wholly irrational was indicated by the happenings of 1908, when Armenian intellectuals joined with the Young Turkish movement (the «Committee for Union and Progress») in overthrowing the Sultan and the old régime. But in spite of this co-operation the Armenians suffered a far worse fate, with the outbreak of the Great War, under the Young Turks. Armenians everywhere in the Ottoman Empire — often whole villages — were deported to the uninhabitable regions of the Mesopotamian deserts. The declared policy of the government was: «extermination of the race». The young men were generally murdered at the outset and, of the convoys, more than half died before reaching their destination. Eye-witness accounts tell the usual dreadful story of sickness, rape, starvation, thirst, madness. The reasons given for this planned extermination were much the same as in the earlier massacres: in short, the Armenian communities were accused of being a fifth column within the Ottoman Empire, intriguing with the advancing Russian forces. Again there were protests from some of the European Powers — stronger protests this time, since France and England were at war with Turkey and so could use the atrocities as propaganda. But little was done to help the victims. And indeed, whatever the Great Powers had done in the pre-War years had merely served — as is usually the case — to worsen the lot of the Armenians. Italy, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Britain — they had all intrigued over the body of the «sick man», and their intrigues had inevitably involved the one large Christian minority, the Armenians. Furthermore, after the counter-revolution of 1909, a staff of German officers had helped to reform the Turkish army, a British admiral had occupied himself with the navy, and French and Italian officers had reconstructed the gendarmerie. In such an atmosphere of moral miasma as prevailed in 1914-15, it was only to be expected that non-official bodies alone would turn to the rescue of the persecuted Armenians — American missionaries and teachers, German pastors, Dutch nurses, English residents, Turkish peasants. The end of it was that of the estimated pre-War Armenian population of Turkey, 1,300,000, one half perished during the deportations and accompanying slaughter (2).

In a collection of documents laid before Parliament by Viscount Bryce in 1916 and published under the title *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* there are papers referring to the defence of Musa Dag, which the editor (Arnold Toynbee) describes as «the single happy incident in the national tragedy of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire». The Ar-

menians living in Yoghonoluk and the other villages on the slopes of Musa Dag, «the Mountain of Moses», which rises sheer from the sea on the Syrian coast near Antioch, received their deportation orders at a later date and had therefore had an opportunity to see and hear what had happened to their friends. They chose to die on their own mountain, rather than on the terrible journey to the deserts, and with a few guns, flocks and some food they took refuge behind the natural fortifications of Musa Dag. They numbered roughly four thousand, of whom less than a quarter were grown men. Here, in spite of not being a military race, they resisted full-scale attacks made by the Turkish army for forty days (according to the documents, fifty-three), and just as their supplies had finally given out and it was clear they could survive no longer, a French cruiser, noticing the banner hung out over the sea, came to their rescue and transported them to a British refugee camp at Port Said.

The moral we are meant to deduce from the official documents — they were published as propaganda against the enemy — is of course that the gallant outnumbered Armenians had triumphed over the cruel wily Turks. It was to be one of those simple adventure stories — so uncommon in modern warfare — where a downtrodden Right emerges amazingly victorious over a stupendous Might. The Word of God spoken with unambiguous clarity. But for Werfel the novelist the moral is something very different.

II

The main events of the novel correspond to actual events mentioned in the documents: the almost insuperable difficulties of the undertaking, the storm which ruins much of their provisions at the outset, the election by ballot of a committee of defence, the surprise attack by the besieged on the besiegers, the primitive battering-ram used to propel boulders down the slopes against the Turks, the banner with its inscription, «Christians in Need. Help.» But it is exactly in those points where the novel departs from the documents that the importance, the value, the tremendous contemporary significance of the former lie. Those differences which relate to the invented characters of the novel will have to be left till later; while we now glance at the difference in tone and intention, in explicit remark and implicit beliefs, between the compilers of the documents and the writer of the novel.

First of all, the simplest distinction: the mastery of the artist-art as distinct from documentary. Here is an extract from a «Statement by Two Red Cross Nurses of Danish Nationality» describing events at Erzindjan (east-central Turkey):

«A soldier attached to our staff as cobbler said to Sister B.:

«I am now forty-six years old, and yet I am taken for military service, although I have paid my exemption-tax regularly every year. I have never done anything against the Government, and now they are taking from me my whole family, my seventy-year-old mother, my wife and five children, and I do not know where they are going.» He was especially affected by the thought of his little

daughter, a year and a half old; 'She is so sweet. She has such pretty eyes'; he wept like a child. The next day he came back; «I know the truth. They are all dead.» And it was only too true...»

With this we may compare the following passage from the (translated) novel:

«A shifting carpet woven with the threads of blood-stained destinies. It is always the same... Here, for instance, a man of forty-six, in good clothes, an engineer. It needs many cudgel blows to get him away from his wife and children. His youngest is about one and a half. This man is to be enrolled in a labour battalion, for road-making. He stumbles in the long line of men and shuffles, gibbering like a half-wit: «I never missed paying my bedel... paying my bedel.» Suddenly he grips hold of his neighbour. «You've never seen such a lovely baby»... A torrent of sentimental agony. «Why, the girl had eyes as big as plates. If only I could, I'd crawl after them on my belly like a snake.» And he shuffles on, enveloped in his grief, completely isolated. That evening they lie down to rest on a hillside. Long after midnight he shakes the same neighbour out of his sleep. «They're all dead now». He is perfectly calm.»

The second passage, though perhaps based on the first (in both the man is forty-six, the daughter a year and a half), is in a different class. It is, in fact, more real — it is *too real* to be good propaganda (which is provided satisfactorily by the first passage). The soldier of the document «wept like a child»: the touching prerogative of «our allies». But the soldier of the novel was «gibbering like a half-wit»: and his «torrent of sentimental agony» drowns all distinction between ally and enemy, between political right and wrong, between Moslem and Christian. We would stop that torrent, but we are given to understand that reprisal, revenge and all the devices of war can only increase it all — the torrents of sentimental agony, the gibbering of half-wits.

Similarly this letter from members of the German Missions Staff in Turkey to the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, describing conditions in Aleppo:

«All this happens under the eyes of high Turkish officials. There are forty or fifty emaciated phantoms crowded into the compound opposite our school. They are women out of their mind; they have forgotten how to eat; when one offers them bread, they throw it aside with indifference. They only groan and wait for death.»

This letter may well have been the basis for the description of the desert concentration camps which Werfel puts into the mouth of the shocked Turkish officer in the second «Interlude of the Gods»:

«THE CAPTAIN: «They're no longer human... Ghosts... But not the ghosts of human beings... the ghosts of apes. It takes them a long time to die, because they chew grass and can sometimes get hold of a piece of bread... But the worst thing is that they're all

too weak to bury their tens of thousands of corpses... Deir ez-Zor is a horrible cloaca of death...»

THE OLD SHEIKH (after a long pause): «And how can they be helped?»

THE CAPTAIN: «Helped? The best anyone could do for them would be to kill them all off in one day... Their dehumanized misery is so great that they have ceased to be able to distinguish between friend and enemy... Whenever I came into a camp, they came round me in swarms... Usually there were only women and old men, all half naked... They roared with hunger... The women scraped up my horse's dung to pick out the undigested oat-grains...»

The document is horrible, but the extract from the novel is terrible. The first is likely to arouse our emotions against the Turks; the second acts as a warning — it is possible for man to turn his fellow-men into animals... The victims, in the novel, are not «injured innocents» — those things that lay so soothing a balm to those who befriend them in words or deeds — they are «dehumanized» creatures, who cannot be helped, for whom right and wrong, friend and enemy, has no meaning. It is not Pity that is aroused in the reader, but that less specious and perhaps more useful emotion, Terror.

Occasionally in the documents one hears the overt tones of the propagandist. The American mission at Van had first harboured Armenian refugees and later, when the advancing Russians had captured the town, was asked to take care of Turkish refugees. Here is the authentic voice of the Christian proselytiser:

«The effect on its followers of the religion of Islam was never more strongly contrasted with Christianity. While the Armenian refugees had been mutually helpful and self-sacrificing, these Moslems showed themselves absolutely selfish, callous and indifferent to each other's suffering. Where the Armenians had been cheery and hopeful, and had clung to life with wonderful vitality, the Moslems, with no faith in God and no hope of a future life, bereft now of hope in this life, died like flies of the prevailing dysentery from lack of stamina and the will to live».

That Armenians who died of dysentery should be the victims of Turkish inhumanity whereas Turks who died of the same disease should be the victims of their own lack of faith in God and of «the will to live», savours of that detestable species of war-time «logic» — the logic of hate — to which we have grown accustomed during the last decade. All races, all religions, are capable of dying of dysentery; and of committing atrocities. Werfel's own attitude is nearer to that of the impersonal scientific historian on this point:

The atrocities have been revealed in their true light, as crimes incidental to an abnormal process, which all parties have committed in turn, and not as the peculiar practice of one denomination and nationality (3).

Werfel presents the Turkish-Moslem case in all fairness. At the meeting of the mystical order of dervishes called «the thieves of hearts» attended by Johannes Lepsius (the German pastor who is working for Armenian relief), the Türbedar, «guardian of the tombs of sultans and holy men», throws the blame for the massacres on the Western powers whose «progress» inspired the Young Turks to overthrow the Sultan:

«At the [Berlin] Congress you Europeans began to meddle in the domestic affairs of the empire. You urged reforms. You wanted to buy Allah and our religion of us, for shabby sums. The Armenians were your commercial travellers...»

The Türbedar's strong arguments, the force of his reasoning — «Do we send you missionaries, as you us? You only send out the cross before you so that the Baghdad railway and the oil trusts may pay better dividends...» — help to preserve the essential balance of the novel, which might otherwise seem (since we tend, when we ourselves are not directly implicated, to take the side of the «underdog») to be heavily weighed in favour of Christian and European values. Yet when, after describing the Armenians in Turkey as an electric wire which «conducted your devil's restlessness into the midst of our peace», the Türbedar cries: «Can't you yourself see the justice of God in these events?», we feel that if this is logic (and it appears to be) then logic is of no use. Neither the Türbedar's logic nor the logic which the Christian lady brought to bear on the incidence of dysentery among Mohammedans. We need something that is beyond logic. And more hopeful than argument or logic of any kind is the unofficial, human, behaviour of many of the Turkish villagers related in the chapter called «The Great Assembly»:

«Often, as he rode about his district, a surprised mudir would pull up in the village street, where he had just read out his decree of banishment, to watch Turks and Armenians mingle their tears. He would marvel as, before an Armenian house, its Turkish neighbours stood and wailed, calling after its dazed and tearless inhabitants, who without looking back were leaving the doors of their old home: «May God pity you!» And more, loading them with provisions for the road, with costly presents, a goat or even a mule...»

All this, so to speak, is ground which must be cleared before Werfel can come to grips with the real problem of the novel... and we find that this, eventually, is no problem at all. For the novel's theme is **Persecution**. Not an argument over the rights or wrongs of persecution, its inevitability or avoidability — but simply a painfully detailed «psychology» of persecution: the printed words on the page collapse sickeningly beneath us and we fall headlong into the **experience** of persecution. Persecution, even today, is for most of us something we read about in the newspapers; it happens in Germany, or Whitechapel. It happens everywhere and always: and yet most of us never find out what it is and what it really means. Systematically breaking down all the defences — of false logic, cultivated scepticism, sentimentality — which we erect against the attacks of unpalatable knowledge, Franz Werfel brings us suddenly face to face with it: the experience of the victim.

III

A study of persecution divides into two related parts: the experience of the persecutor and the experience of the persecuted. Firstly, how does persecution begin? A governmental order is not in itself the beginning. And the stages by which the common human emotions of irritation at another's «differentness» or smarter business sense, or jealousy of his house and furniture, or suppressed desire for his «foreign-looking» wife — the stages by which these feelings (which are certainly not confined to any one race or religion) pass into murder, rape and looting, are dramatically realised in «The Great Assembly». I can quote only a brief extract:

«These saptiehs [**Turkish police**] were not all brutes. It is even probable that most of them were good, plain, middling sort of people. But what can a saptieh do? He is under stringent orders to reach such and such a point with his whole convoy by such a scheduled hour. His heart may be in perfect sympathy with the screaming mother who tries to snatch her child out of a ditch, flings herself down on the road, and claws the earth. No use to talk to her. She's wasted minutes already, and it's still six miles to the next halt. A mad scream from a thousand throats. Why did not these crowds, weak as they were, hurl themselves on the saptieh and his mates, disarm them, and tear them into shreds? Perhaps the policemen were in constant terror of such assault, which would have finished them. And so — one of them fires a shot. The rest whip out their swords to beat the defenceless cruelly with the blades. And, with this blood, another emotion comes to life in the excited saptiehs — their old itch for the women of the accursed race. In these helpless women you possess more than a human being — in very truth you possess the God of your enemy. Afterwards, the saptiehs scarcely knew how it all had happened».

Man's recognition of humanity, of the peculiar worth of being a man, is — the book tells us — so easily lost. And once lost, it is difficult to recover. After the first beating, the first killing, the first atomic bomb, the others follow quickly, painlessly. A little thing like what we euphemistically call «losing one's temper» can lead directly to action which denies all that we ever told ourselves about the «sacredness» of human life. And once the principle of force is admitted there is no logical turning back. Talaat Bey, the Turkish Minister of the Interior at the time of these events, is said to have made the following pronouncement in an interview for the **Berliner Tageblatt**:

The sad events that have occurred in Armenia have prevented my sleeping well at night. We have been reproached for making no distinction between the innocent Armenians and the guilty; but that was utterly impossible, in view of the fact that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow.»

And he was absolutely logical and correct — given the premises which most cultivated Europeans readily give themselves today. The only good Armenian is a dead Armenian. The only good German is a dead German. We must praise Talaat Bey and the inventors of the latter slogan for their penetrative insight and transparent honesty. They are quite right. Once the principle of physical violence is accepted, **there can be no distinction between the innocent and the guilty.** Force, the instrument supposedly for exterminating the guilty, is precisely that great instrument which produces guilt, and in terrifying, ever-increasing ratios. Force is always tending to the extermination of the race that uses it — the human race — the last war seems to indicate that. But apparently it is left to a work of art, a mere novel, to prove it. This study of persecution is a microscopic scrutiny of a stage in the slow process which violence goes through in its journey towards its final end: the destruction of human life.

Werfel achieves this proof, as I have remarked, by systematically demolishing our various kinds of mental defence — pseudo-logic, «cold commonsense», «historical necessity», wishful thinking, rationalization — by precluding the possibility of exercising the bad mental and moral habits which we ourselves, aided energetically by politicians, philosophers and public figures of all descriptions, have encouraged in ourselves.

One of the chief defences is the conception that there is a difference of kind between the professional soldier, the regular, with his rifle or bombing plane on the one hand, and, on the other, the «thug», the Turkish saptieh, the Nazi brute with his rubber truncheon. But there is no real distinction: a mere circumstance may suffice to make one pass into the other.

And that is why anti-German atrocity propaganda is so irrelevant, as anti-racial propaganda. A country that drops bombs from aeroplanes can register only aesthetic — not moral — disapproval of a country that makes lampshades from the skins of its victims. Werfel is most concerned with atrocities committed at close quarters, in «hot blood» and against defenceless victims: but he makes no suggestion that this is in any way more disgusting than the warfare in Europe. It is even more «innocent»: at least there is a possibility of redemption among thugs and killers which seems to be denied to the users of atomic bombs — we exponents of modern warfare, like the members of a firing-party, tell ourselves: surely it was our gun that held the blank cartridge. As the villagers prepare for their secret exodus to the mountain, Werfel reminds us of Europe:

«...there the dog-fight was being conducted with all modern conveniences, according to the most advanced scientific principles, not with the innocent blood-lust of the beast of passion, but with the mathematical thoroughness and precision of the beast of intellect.»

«Intellect» and «passion»: these are accidents of circumstance; the «beastliness» is the same.

Another common defence mechanism, a protective skin for the conscience which has been growing for many centuries, is the idea that «suffer-

ing refines», and therefore cannot be an entirely deplorable thing after all. But even the writers of the eye-witness accounts in **The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire** — eager as they were to praise the Armenians at the expense of the enemy Turks — were too close to the reality to be able to suggest this. And Werfel blows this consoling notion sky high. Part of the poetic symbolism of the novel lies in the quiet suggestion that Musa Dagħ is a kind of Garden of Eden:

«The flower-strewn meadows of its eastern slopes, the fat pasturage of its many-folded flanks, its lithe orchards of apricot, vine and orange around its feet; its quiet, as of protecting seraphim — all this seemed scarcely touched by the fall of man, under which, in rocky melancholy, the rest of Asia Minor mourns...»

But the fleeing Armenians bring with them to Musa Dagħ the angel with the flaming sword who turns Paradise to a gutted wilderness: the last desperate device of the defenders is to set fire to the mountain. And the settlement, right from the start, is far from being a Utopian community: the Armenians hang on firmly to their social and financial class-distinctions, and eventually spy fever, food-stealing, disloyalty, apathy, personal antipathies, jealousy and egotism prove to be enemies just as dangerous as the Turkish army. On the thirty-third day of the defence, the Agha Rifaat Bereket, a pious Moslem of pre-revolutionary sympathies and one of «the thieves of hearts», obtains admission to the camp and, though he has visited the worst of the deportation camps, is sickened by what he sees:

«The savage, feverish masks of men grimaced round him avidly. Waving arms, as thin as twigs, thrust out of tattered sleeves, held children close up to his face, as the women begged. Nearly all these children had swollen heads, on the thinnest necks, and their huge, staring eyes had a knowledge in them forbidden the children of humankind. The Agha perceived that not even the most brutal convoy could, in its effects, be more dehumanizing than this isolation, this cutting off. He believed that now he could understand by how much this draining off of the spirit exceeds in cruelty even the massacre of the body. The most horrible thing that had been done was, not that a whole people had been exterminated, but that a whole people, God's children, had been dehumanized. The sword of Enver, striking these Armenians, had struck Allah. Since in them, as in all other men, even unbelievers, Allah dwells. And who so degrades His dignity in the creature, degrades the Creator in his victim. This, then, is God-murder, the sin which, to the end of time, is never forgiven.

To the old man, it felt as though he were walking through clouds of ashes, the thick death-cloud of the whole burnt-up Armenian race rising between time and eternity.»

Suffering, on this scale, does not refine: it «dehumanizes». And nor does continued persecution, of however mild or spasmodic a nature, tend to improve the character of a minority; a race which has no State of its own, to

which it can appeal without having to beg favours or buy them, is bound to develop certain unattractive traits among **some** of its members. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* has a remark which is relevant here:

The want of courage and self-reliance, the difficulty in truth and honesty sometimes noticed in connexion with them [the Armenians], are doubtless due to long servitude under an unsympathetic government.

But the effects of persecution — the spiritual disasters resultant on this kind of «refinement» — are most persuasively, most finely, most poignantly brought out — and agonisingly thrust upon us — in Werfel's depiction of the people of his story: especially Gabriel Bagradian, Juliette, Kilikian. And these we must still leave till later.

Yet Werfel's most successful stratagem in his attack on our muffled sensibilities is his consistent avoidance of overt moralising, preaching, and his continual use, instead, of a telling irony. (There is something Swiftian here). Irony is integral to the book, but there are several instances which are too good not to quote. The Armenian camp has been unmolested for over a week: unknown to the refugees, the authorities have had something more important to contend with — a violent outbreak of spotted typhus which originated with the masses of putrescent Armenian corpses lying in the Mesopotamian deserts:

«The wordly wisdom of Talaat Bey, in the Serail Palace of the ministry, might well have been confounded by the perception of what strange results may emerge from any attempt to exterminate a whole people. But neither he nor Enver let it perturb them. Power and the dullest insensitivity have gone together ever since there has been a world...»

«Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind...»

Perhaps the finest example of this quiet, ferocious irony is Werfel's account of how the rescue of the refugees came about — a complete departure from the actual facts, of course. One of the village teachers, Hrand Oskanian, off his head with jealousy, hurt pride and the general desperation, has become the leader of a small suicide cult. There is no God — he teaches — the world is a lump of dung spinning in space; but there is one way in which man can show his power and spite this non-existent God: and that is by committing suicide. This will spite the Turks as well. On the fortieth night, Oskanian and his four converts gather on the edge of the mountain, ready to throw themselves into the sea. The three women jump first, leaving the prophet with his stern male disciple. When Oskanian refuses to jump till sunrise, the latter suspects his leader of backsliding; in the ensuing struggle the disciple is flung over the cliff. Oskanian, hopping around insanely, falls over a flagpole — the banner «Christian in Need. Help» which the wind

had blown over long before. He picks it up, shoulders it without knowing what he is doing, and continues his antics. The French cruiser *Guichen* notices these mad wavings and signals an answer back. But Oskanian, consumed with the desire to escape the consequences of his guilt, steps too far and the weight of the flagpole draws him over the cliff-edge:

«At that minute the twelve-inch guns of the *Guichen* halted the Turks with a shell that crashed down into Suedia».

That such a significant event — yet what does it signify that the Armenians should be rescued, now? — should hang on the inglorious twitchings of an almost mindless body, is by itself enough to assure the reader that the novel is more than a thrilling adventure story.

The final ironical situation — it is part of the personal tragedy of the novel's chief character — occurs with the subsequent landing of the fleet-commander, the French rear-admiral, and his ceremonial inspection of the locale of so heroic an action. Gabriel Bagradian, as the Armenian commander, does his best to rise to the occasion by asking the admiral to accept, «in the name of the French nation», the two howitzers captured from the Turks by his young son (who was later killed). It is found impossible to move them to the ship, however, and they have to be blown up. The admiral then asks for an account of the defence, while Gabriel grows more and more impatient:

«What did these electro-plated bigwigs know of the Armenian destiny, of the gradual, slow undermining of every individual life up there? His impatience became tinged with disgust. Couldn't he simply turn his back on them and walk away?»

The admiral makes a short speech in praise of Gabriel and his «Christian heroism». But this talk of victory, unforgettable deeds, Christian heroism, *la gloire*, is utterly out of place on Musa Dagh at the end of the Forty Days; Gabriel has broken irrevocably with the world in which such words can be spoken and have a meaning:

«As Gabriel bowed the deepest gratitude in answer to this sincerely felt little speech, cordially grasping the rear-admiral's small, thin hand, he casually thought: «Port Said? Alexandria? I? What should I do there? Live in a concentration camp? Why?...»

IV

Now, at last, for what I called — not altogether accurately — the «heart» of the novel. There is hardly space in the present essay for a detailed examination of the tragic fate of the four main characters, let alone any discussion of the many lesser persons, all of them portrayed with skill and economy, whose vivid individualities and idiosyncrasies are nonetheless pressed unobtrusively into the book's main theme. Of the four outstanding

figures, one, the priest Ter Haigasun, may be quickly dismissed here; for, monumental as he is, his function is simple enough. The «man of God», iron in his faith, fire in his enthusiasm. Without him and the powerful religious sanctions which he is able to invoke, the camp on Musa Dagħ would not hold together for a single day; yet against his account of the rescue — «the evil only happened... to enable God to show us His goodness» — we have to place the unedifying, bitter little farce of the suicide cult. Werfel clearly has the greatest respect for Ter Haigasun, the Moses of the mountain, but he does not propose him either as a possible model for other people or as a typical representative of persecuted humanity. The priest cannot be persecuted, he could only be killed. He is both greater and lesser than Gabriel Bagradian.

Gabriel Bagradian is the hero of the novel. Both of the novel as adventure story and of the novel as tragedy. The former because he has the qualities of a leader and some technical knowledge of warfare; the latter because he is civilised, aware, and thoroughly articulate (4). Born, of wealthy parents, in an Armenian village which he left at the age of twelve, he has spent twenty-three years in Paris, marrying a French woman and living the life of a cultured *déraciné*: «a scholar, a *bel esprit*, an archaeologist, a historian of art, a philosopher...» He has almost forgotten that he was ever an Armenian. «Massacre and torture he only knew through books and stories». With his wife and son he returns to Yoghonoluk on family business and is trapped by the outbreak of war in Europe. His Armenian blood quickly begins to re-assert itself and the Parisian years fall away. It is he who first senses the coming persecution:

«I heard all kinds of disturbing things — but that's not the point. Perhaps, really, very little may have changed. But it **always comes** suddenly, like a desert storm. It's in my bones. My ancestors in me, who suffered incredible things, can feel it. My whole body feels it. No, Juliette, you can't understand! Nobody could understand who hasn't been hated because of his race».

— and it is he who leads the exodus to Musa Dagħ and takes responsibility for the camp's defence. But, «the gently nurtured cannot do butcher's work unpunished, though right may be a thousand times on their side.»

Gabriel's French wife, Juliette, who can feel little but antipathy for the unpolished Armenians, is the symbol of the «average person», unacquainted with persecution, confident in the strength, rectitude and protection of her country. She cannot adjust herself to the way of life of a refugee and, more as an act of pitiful defiance than anything else, she commits adultery with the other «outsider» on the mountain, a nomadic Greek-French-American. This is surely the most unpornographic adultery in all literature: its painfulness made almost unbearable by the doubt as to whether she is in her right mind when committing it or in the early stages of fever. At the end, her self-respect gone, her marriage in ruins, her beauty destroyed, she searches madly for a dress in which to greet the French naval officers — yes, there is a happy ending, of a sort, for her:

«But would any frock have been the right one in which to welcome rescuing brothers, since for broken lives there can be no rescuer?»

Sarkis Kilikian, the fourth of these symbolic figures, joins the camp as a deserter from a Turkish labour battalion. Throughout his life, from earliest childhood, he has suffered atrocities of the most ghastly kind; his quietest years have been spent in Turkish prisons. This great, dead, personality, confined in a fleshless shrunken body, is the very type of the lost, wandering Armenian, the Wandering Jew; in him we see the dehumanization of the persecuted at its most extreme. «His secret lay in his being nothing at all explicit, in his seeming to belong nowhere, to be living at some zero-point of incomprehensible neutrality.» Kilikian is Enver, the Turkish Minister of War, reversed: the one the emotionless oppressor, the other the emotionless victim. He is to Gabriel as Tom of Bedlam (the poetic conception, not Edgar-as-Tom of Bedlam) is to Lear. «Thou art the thing itself». Finally, «restless with longing to break out of one jail into the next», he leads a revolt within the camp and Gabriel is forced to shoot him — «Those indifferent eyes as little expressed the wish to live as the wish to die.» Kilikian has to be killed, by his friends, because he is so terrible an example of what his friends, the other Armenians, are becoming: non-moral, non-human, even non-living.

At the close of the novel, while the survivors are being taken on board the ships, Gabriel falls asleep. When he awakes the ships are already leaving. He signals to them, but 'the movements were not those of a desperate man', and he stands in the shadow of a rock. He is surprised at his own calmness in the face of this ludicrous disaster. Then, «in one clear flash, he realized — that he did not want the ships to see him.» As he had said earlier to the Agha Rifaat Bereket, who had offered him a chance of escaping alone from the mountain:

«No one who stands where I stand can begin again from the beginning.»

After what he has seen and done and suffered, there can be no return to human society. It could not tolerate him, nor he it. Then, at the last — the final irony — he hears the ships' sirens. «Life raged within him». Leaving his son's grave, he starts back to the sea. There is a flash of rifles:

«Gabriel Bagradian was lucky. The second Turkish bullet shattered his temple. He clung to the wood, tore it down along with him. The Cross of the Son rested upon his heart.»

V

Minorities are a nuisance — political thinkers of the most diverse schools agree on that point. Civilisations are bound to fall — historians and philosophers have proved it. Racial persecution is an inevitable step in the slow march of time — scientists tell us as much. And so, conveniently, we forget that civilisations, even in the moment of their decline and fall, are made up of human beings with every conceivable right to that title. **The Forty Days**

of **Musa Dagb** jolts us mercilessly, flesh and blood and spirit, into the slow dreadful days of which later theorists speak so glibly. This is what it is to be history. And only the realisation that history is the sum of individual endeavour, success, failure and suffering can save our human history from becoming a sequence of disasters, a criminal indictment which whatever form of life succeeds us may amuse themselves by drawing up. The violence and yet the consummate skill with which Franz Werfel thrusts and insinuates his arguments through the ramparts of our conventional defences, tempt one to compare this novel with **King Lear**. And if, at the end, we are conscious of that feeling of calmness, relief and purgation with which **Lear** leaves us, we are no more likely to feel that Gabriel's death is unimportant or in some way justified or natural, than that Goneril and Regan and Edmund are the justified or natural weapons with which the «Life Force» clears its way ahead. «Every man and every nation at one time or another becomes «the weak», pleads Johannes Lepsius. And we are reminded of the end of **Lear**:

«Is this the promis'd end?»

«Or image of that horror?»

«Fall and cease?»

D. J. ENRIGHT.

1. See Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1900, p. 215 ff. and Botti, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 1, p. 56 ff.

2. For information about the forts of Alexandria I have to thank Colonel Abdel Rahman Zaki, Director of the Military Museum, Cairo, and M. Etienne Combe, See also Prince Omar Toussoun, *Bull. Soc. R. Arch. Alex.* No. 34, p. 23 ff., no. 11.

3. Dutilh, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 7, fig. 19, p. 55 ff.

4. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 90, fig. 35; Adriani, *Sculture Monumentali del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria*.

5. Strzygowski, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 5, p. 3 ff.

Archaeological Excavation at Kom-el-Dik

a preliminary report on the Medieval Pottery

by
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I. — This preliminary report is based on my study of the material during my attachment to the University staff between February 1st and March 17th, 1949. In it I attempt to give a provisional classification of the medieval pottery found in excavations conducted by the University under the direction of Professor Alan Wace, in the two seasons 1947 & 1948. The report may be found useful for reference if further excavations are to be made at Kom-el-Dik. If no further excavations are undertaken, the report may be regarded as a first out-line for the more comprehensive study that will be prepared for publication by the University.

The final publication will probably be planned on the following lines:

- 1 — A resumé of what information can be found in the writings of Arab and European historians about Alexandria in the late medieval period — 12th to 16th century A.D. (Some work on the Arab Sources has already been done by Dr. Abdel-Aziz Barzouk).
- 2 — A topographical account of the Kom el-Dik site; a statement on the previous excavations undertaken by Hogart and a description of the methods followed in the excavations by Farouk Ist. University. (This section will naturally have to be written by the Director of the excavations or by someone who assisted him on the spot).
- 3 — A classified description of the finds, which mainly consist of pottery and glass. (This section will be an expansion of the present report, illustrated by photographs and by drawings which have still to be made. It will be necessary to make comparisons with material found elsewhere or preserved in Museums, and as the books are not available in Alexandria, I hope to consult them in London after my return to England. I shall send the results of my researches to Dr. Abdel-Aziz Marzouk, who will be able to incorporate them in the final publication. I have prepared copious notes and sketches of the pottery which I am also leaving in his hands).
- 4 — A discussion of the new knowledge that has been gained as a result of the excavations, both about medieval Alexandrian history and trade, and about medieval Islamic art.

(1) Mr. Lane is the Keeper of Ceramics in the Victoria & Albert Museum. He was delegated to examine the finds of Pottery in the University Excavations at Kom el-Dik. During his sejour in Alexandria he gave some lectures on Pottery in this Faculty.

II. — The excavations were begun in the hope of finding important remains of the Hellenistic or Roman periods. Three separate cuts were made in the sides of the hill of Kom el-Dik — on the South East, on the North, and on the West. Fragments of pottery and other debris were found embedded in the earth to the lowest level excavated, and it was not possible to dig down to virgin soil. It is therefore probable that traces of earlier settlement still lie buried under the hill. This appears all the more likely because digging at a fourth point in the level ground away from the hill to the south (the so-called «Garden Site») led down to remains of the Roman period. What is certain; is that Kom el-Dik is not a natural hill but an artificial mound formed by man.

From comparison with material found elsewhere which can be approximately dated, it is clear that the oldest pottery found in the three cuts on the hill can hardly be much earlier than 1200 A.D. Apart from isolated fragments, too few to be significant, that latest pottery found appears to date from the second half of the 15th century A.D. The earlier imported pottery resembles that found on sites in Syria and Palestine occupied by the Crusaders in the 13th century and thereafter abandoned. The style of the lustre-painted pottery imported from Manises in Spain helps to fix the lower date in the 15th century (probably before 1475).

The excavations were scientifically conducted, care being taken to observe the stratification of the material in the ground and to keep the remains from each level separate. The character of the pottery changed from one level to another, types known to be early being found mainly at the lower levels, later types on or near the surface. The hill was therefore not piled up deliberately in a single operation in the second half of the 15th century or later; it grew by gradual stages between about 1200 and 1475 A.D.

There were two possible explanations why the mound grew to such a height above the surrounding ground-level. First, that it was for two centuries the site of human occupation which left succeeding layers of deposit as the years went on, while the ground surrounding the growing hill was comparatively uninhabited. Second, that Kom el-Dik was a vast rubbish heap where generations of the inhabitants of Alexandria deposited their broken pottery and other household or workshop refuse, much of which has decayed beyond recognition through contact with damp soil.

In favour of its being an occupied site is the fact that the strata of broken pottery etc. follow horizontal lines, and in this are markedly different from the strata at obvious dump-sites in Alexandria, such as those by the Government Hospital and by the Faculty of Science (Abbassia Secondary School). At the latter sites the strata run downwards in a slanting direction. The fort of Mohammed Ali on the top, the modern military buildings on the slopes, and the steady encroachment of the modern city have changed the shape of Kom el-Dik and reduced its area. Among the finds in the excavations were misshapen lamps of glass frit, great quantities of semi-vitreous slag, pottery crucibles containing melted glass, and deposits of seaweed and sand — the raw materials used by glass-makers. These make it certain that glass-makers used the work in the neighbourhood, perhaps on the hill itself.

There is no circumstantial evidence that potters too were at work; through some misshapen unglazed earthenware bowls were found, they were usable and could not be regarded as refuse from potters' kilns.

Against the theory of Kom el-Dik having been an occupied site there are two main arguments. First, no traces of buildings were found in the excavations; and though any buildings that might have existed would perhaps be constructed from impermanent materials, these should have included walls of unburnt brick, which leaves easily identified foundations. Second, there is the generally even and undisturbed stratification of the pottery. Sites of Medieval occupation in the Near East are normally honeycombed by vertical shafts sunk near the houses, either as walls or as rubbish-pits. Dense accumulations of pottery are found at the bottom of these shafts, well below the level of the dwellings to which they belonged. And the stratification is further disturbed by the digging of the shafts, which brings to the top fragments of pottery etc. from lower levels of occupation.

Whether Kom el-Dik was a densely populated area surrounded by more or less open ground, or a town rubbish-dump of a kind similar to those at Fostat, its abandonment for either purpose about the end of the 15th century can easily be explained. Alexandria had then declined in size and importance, and the shrunken city became concentrated some way off near the harbour, with other rubbish dumps nearer at hand.

The excavations at Kom el-Dik will offer valuable archaeological evidence of a kind not obtained in excavating the rubbish-heaps at Fostat. For the stratification, carefully observed, will facilitate the dating of many kinds of pottery whose chronology and development has hitherto been obscure.

The finds themselves cast a most interesting light on the commercial and cultural relations of Alexandria during the 12th-15th centuries. There is a great deal of celadon stoneware and white porcelain imported from China, probably via the Red Sea. There are much greater quantities of «Byzantine» incised pottery, of a kind widely diffused through the Aegean and perhaps made in the Anatolian Province of the Byzantine Empire. Incised and painted wares of a kind found on Crusader sites in Syria and Palestine are accompanied by painted wares from Rakka in North Syria, all of the 13th century. Painted pottery from the Maghrib and from Spain was imported from the 13th century onwards; it includes a few pieces of the lustre-painted ware from Malaga (14th century) and a great many of the lustre-ware made at Manises near Valencia (15th century). Alexandria was clearly a main gateway of Egyptian trade towards Syria in the north east and Spain and N. Africa to the West.

III. — Classification of pottery found at Kom el-Dik.

A. Far Eastern imports

1. Chinese celadon stoneware, from Lung Chuan. 12th. century onwards.

2. Chinese celadon, from other unidentified factories.
3. Chinese white Ting ware, with relief decoration. 12th-13th centuries.
4. Chinese white porcelain with «ying-ching» shadowy blue glaze. 13th-14th centuries.
5. Chinese white porcelain painted in blue. Late 14th-15th centuries.
6. Chinese coarse grey stoneware jars (martabani) with olive green or brown glaze.

B. East Mediterranean imports

7. «Byzantine» sgraffiato ware with scooped and incised designs; thin potting. 13th century onwards.
8. (?) Byzantine sgraffiato ware with incised borders of pseudo-Arabic writing; thicker pottery. 13th century.
9. «Crusader» coarse sgraffiato ware, as found at Al-Mina near Antioch in Syria. 13th century.
10. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple, blue, brown and red on white glaze. 13th century «Athlit A».
11. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple, green and brown on whitish glaze over red clay. 13th century «Athlit B».
12. Crusader ware of type found at Athlit, painted in purple and pale green on a white glaze, mainly with shields. 13th century «Athlit C».
13. Cypriote sgraffiato ware. 13th-15th centuries.

C. Asiatic imports

14. Persian (Kashan) lustre-painted ware; early 13th century.
15. Syrian (Rakka) lustre-painted ware; 13th century before 1259.
16. Syrian (Rakka) ware painted in black, blue and sometimes a little red. 12th-13th century, before 1259.
(Hard to distinguish from Egyptian Ayyubid painted ware).
17. Syrian wares painted in black and blue. 14th-15th centuries.
(Hard to distinguish from Egyptian wares).
18. Syrian (Damascus) lustre-painted ware; 14th century.

D. West Mediterranean imports

19. Unidentified lustre-painted ware, perhaps made in N. Africa at Bougie. 13th century.

20. Spanish (Malaga) lustre-painted ware. 14th century.
21. Spanish (Manises) lustre-painted ware. 15th century.
22. Spanish (Paterna) ware painted in green and purple. 14th-15th centuries.
23. North African or Spanish ware painted in blue and purple or purple alone on yellowish glaze. 13th-15th centuries.
24. (?) Catalan Ware (made at Manresa near Barcelona); 14th century.
25. Spanish ware decorated in relief under a green glaze.

E. Egyptian wares

26. Fatimid lustre-painted ware.
27. Colour-glazed ware, mainly green, imitating Chinese celadon.
28. Wares painted in blue, black and sometimes a little red. Ay-yubid period; 13th century. (Hard to distinguish from Rakka ware).
29. Wares painted in black and blue, or one colour only.
30. Red ware painted in white slip under yellowish glaze. Ay-yubid period.
31. Early Mamluk sgraffiato ware.
32. Later Mamluk sgraffiato ware with added painting in white and brown slip.
33. Coarse ware painted in purple under yellowish or greenish glaze. 13th-15th centuries.
34. Unglazed wares of various types. 13th-15th centuries.

Arthur Lane.

Excavations on the Government Hospital Site, Alexandria: Preliminary Report

In 1944 and 1945 the Faculty of Arts made extensive excavations in the southern part of the site of the Government Hospital, near the University, with the object of clearing the site for the Medical Faculty. The site has been described as important and the excavations have well within the scope of the Faculty's work. The excavations were the result of a decision by the Faculty of Arts to clear the site for the Medical Faculty.

Excavations on the Government Hospital Site, Alexandria, Preliminary Report

The excavations were carried out by the Faculty of Arts, under the direction of the Faculty of Arts, and the results are reported in this preliminary report. The excavations were carried out in the southern part of the site of the Government Hospital, near the University, with the object of clearing the site for the Medical Faculty. The site has been described as important and the excavations have well within the scope of the Faculty's work. The excavations were the result of a decision by the Faculty of Arts to clear the site for the Medical Faculty.

Excavations on the Government Hospital Site, Alexandria: Preliminary Report

In 1944 and 1945 the Faculty of Arts made extensive trial excavations in the southeast section of the area of the Government Hospital, since the University was about to construct new buildings on this site for the Medical Faculty. The site has always been considered an important one, because it lies well within the area of ancient Alexandria. The topographers place the ancient theatre somewhere in this area which is raised considerably above the level of surrounding parts of the city. The only previous excavations (1) in this area were those of the German expedition in 1898 which worked in the southwest part of the Hospital site, and Botti records some finds made in this very region, the southeastern part, by Schiess Pasha when he was building the Government Hospital about the same time. The area in question lies outside the old walls of Alexandria which followed the line of the gardens on the north side of the Boulevard Sultan Hussein.

In the northern part of the area tested there rises a mound on which the Queen Victoria column stands. This mound on investigation proved to be one of the old forts of Alexandria, now completely dismantled and ruined. Here on this hill the French under Kleber built a fort, probably merely an earthwork, when they took up-position within Alexandria after the battle of 1801. On account of its position not very far from the obelisks known as «Cleopatra's Needles», which stood on the site of the modern Ramleh tram station, it was called Fort Cleopatra. Some writers wrongly call it Fort Crétin which is really the French name of the Fort Kom ed Dik. It is marked on Nugent's map of the forts of Alexandria in 1840 which shows the forts built or reconstructed by Mohammed Ali. About that time the top of the mound was revetted with a strong wall of masonry. The remains of this masonry found in the excavations strongly resemble that of the forts of Abukir which were also built by Mohammed Ali. The masonry of the fort and the adjoining parts of the ancient walls of Alexandria were destroyed by Schiess Pasha in order to obtain stone and other material for building the Government Hospital. The Arabic name of the fort was Fort Yaoud, or el Yahoudieh or Tabiat el Yahoudi and this name is sometimes given in lists of the forts of Alexandria as Tabyit Koubour el Yajoud el Kadima (2). This name is due to the fact that the fort adjoined the Old Jewish Cemetery. In fact during the excavations an abandoned part of this old Jewish cemetery was found to the south of the fort in the southeast corner of the Government Hospital area. This is directly to the west of Champollion Street on the other side of which still lies the main part of the old Jewish Cemetery. It is obvious that this cemetery lay outside the walls and that the existing part east of Champollion Street was once all one with the now abandoned

part west of the street in the southeast corner of the Government Hospital area.

Several Jewish graves were found in this area and to judge by two Turkish coins found in two graves all date from about the sixteenth century. One complete Hebrew grave inscription and a fragment from another were found. The complete inscription mentions the name Tashtiel a name which is said not now to occur in the Jewish community of Alexandria. At all events the existence of this cemetery justifies the Arabic name of the fort.

The mound of the fort which consists of débris of the late Roman period was found to cover the ruins of an extensive late Roman building of brick and stone and marble which may have been a baths. It was impossible to examine this building in detail because one of the houses of the hospital stands directly above it. The floor of the building is about twelve or thirteen metres below the surface of the mound. On the east were two small rooms which certainly appeared to have been bathrooms. In one the floor was of blue veined marble with a bench of the same material along the walls. In the other room the floor was formed of mosaic of coloured marbles and red porphyry set in mortar on limestone slabs. To the north of these two rooms were two brick built limekilns which indicate what had happened to the marble and stone from this building. Directly to the west of these two rooms are the ruins of lofty vaults of brick once faced with stone and marble. These are in a state of partial collapse but were probably some of the great halls of the baths or else vaulted substructures for some building above. The former is the more probable. Nothing was found in these ruins to indicate their date or purpose. They are clearly of the Roman period probably about the third century A.D. They were most likely wrecked in one of the frequent revolts which occurred in Alexandria during the Roman Empire. Nothing Islamic was discovered either in the ruined baths or in the débris piled above them. So presumably the building must have been long in ruins and filled with rubbish some considerable time before the Arab Conquest. The mound at the level of the floor of the baths has been tunnelled into in later times by persons seeking for cut stone and other suitable building material.

At the southern foot of the mound of the fort is the grave of Schiess Pasha (3) by the side of which stand two granite columns with Corinthian capitals said to have been taken from the Church of St. Theonas, the Mosque of the Thousand Columns. In testing the ground immediately to the south of the grave a curious system of tunnels lined with masonry was explored. The whole of the mound here is composed of débris and rubbish piled up in a great dump. The sloping strata show that the mound was built up in the same way as other dumps of rubbish on the outskirts of Alexandria and Cairo. Once a small mound of rubbish had accumulated the dump was added to by taking fresh débris to the top of the mound and then pouring it down the sides. The same method can be seen in use to-day round Alexandria. This débris contained all manner of rubbish, broken brick and stone, broken pottery, bones, and all kinds of refuse thrown away as useless. In it, as will be seen below, several interesting small finds were made.

The principal tunnel begins on the eastern side of Champollion Street on the edge of the mound and runs directly westwards. At its west end there is on the south a deep shaft covered with a brick vault and lined with masonry. This goes right down to the water level to a depth of about seventeen and a half metres. The purpose of this shaft is not obvious. It can hardly have been intended as a well for there is no proper opening at the top to draw up water and it has no cement or other suitable lining. A short northern branch of this western tunnel ends in a *cul de sac*. About half way between the entrance to the tunnels from Champollion Street and the deep shaft another branch turns off at right angles southwards for some distance and then it turns again at right angles westwards for about thirteen metres till it is blocked by a fall. Here it turned southwards on a curve, but does not seem to have ever been completed because it would have passed close under a mass of heavy blocks of masonry which have partly collapsed into the unfinished tunnel. Owing to the depth it was impossible to explore this mass of large blocks of heavy masonry. The purpose of the tunnels is unknown. They can hardly have been intended to hold water for they have no lining of any kind and there are no signs even of any preparation in the floor for a water channel. In two places there are pivot holes for doors and there are niches in the walls to hold lamps for lighting. The method of construction however is clear. A plain tunnel of greater height than was needed was dug horizontally through the mound. Then the side walls were lined with stone work up to the height required. The masonry was built section by section. First at regular intervals thick solid piers of roughly squared limestone were built and then the space between each pair of piers was filled in with a walling of rough stone or rubble. Finally the whole was roofed with pairs of large slabs placed so as to form an inverted V. Above this inverted V an open space was of necessity left and this apparently gradually filled up with earth falling from above. The entrance to the tunnels at the side of Champollion Street consists of a circular structure of brick into which a small flight of stone steps seems to have led from the east. The tunnel commences on the west directly opposite the steps. The tunnels had been discovered by stone robbers who had burrowed into the mound in search of stone and building material, because the masonry from the sides and from the roof has been removed for a considerable distance. Also just above the entrance in Champollion Street other tunnels were found at a higher level dug into the side of the mound by stone robbers who had clearly tunnelled at random into the mound following up any groups or piles of cut stone they might find.

Nothing was found in the tunnels to indicate their date. They were presumably constructed before the Islamic period because nothing Islamic was found in them. On the other hand since they were dug in a mound composed of *débris* and refuse of the Roman period they must have been made during the Roman period, but certainly not early in that period because the mound of *débris* must have taken some time to accumulate. To judge by the pottery found in the excavations the *débris* itself probably accumulated by the fourth century A.D., certainly by the fifth century, for all the *débris* appears to be pre-Christian. Thus the tunnels may have been constructed during the fifth or sixth century A.D.

The mound of débris extends for some distance to the south of the tunnels into the corner of the area of the Government Hospital. Here the formation of the mound was the same and here too were found tunnels burrowed through the débris by stone robbers searching for building material. In this part of the site immediately below the level of the Jewish graves was a trodden white layer. In and just below this some lamps with Christian symbols came to light whereas in the lower layers nothing Christian appeared. We might therefore conclude that the accumulation of débris in this area came to an end about the beginning of the Christian period, or about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

Owing to various difficulties it was not possible to reach virgin soil and the water level except in one place, and here late Ptolemaic pottery was found close to the soft sandy rock and well below the level of the mounds of refuse. It would seem then that there had been some occupation of this area in Ptolemaic times, but that apparently no important buildings stood on it. Under the Roman Empire the area must have been derelict early in that period and thus was naturally used for dumping refuse of all kinds, exactly as is done on vacant areas in Alexandria to-day. It is remarkable that an area so near the centre of the city should have become derelict so soon and that a site so near the centre of the city should not have been occupied by buildings in the Ptolemaic age. It is possible, however, that when Alexandria was laid out the area enclosed by its walls was too large for the population and thus there were parts of the city which were not occupied by buildings. Often in the Hellenistic period it seems that the areas enclosed by the walls of a city were too large for the population and consequently that in many cities there were open, unoccupied spaces. In the Roman period from the time of Caracalla onwards Alexandria was often the scene of prolonged and destructive fighting and riots in which large parts of the city were laid waste. Even under Trajan during the great Jewish revolt a considerable part of the city was apparently laid in ruins. Under Aurelian towards the end of the third century the Brucheion quarter in which the Government Hospital area probably lay was, we are told, almost completely destroyed.

In any case these excavations have shown that the theatre did not exist in this part of the Government Hospital site. It stood according to Caesar near the Palace. The Palace is generally supposed by the topographers of Alexandria to have lain in the northeastern part of the city. It would thus have stood somewhere between the Government Hospital hill and the sea probably in the Mazarita region where some fine Ionic capitals and some interesting sculptures, now in the Greco-Roman Museum, have been found (4). Perhaps the theatre stood on the northern slope of the Government Hospital hill where there is a tall apartment building now part of the Faculty of Medicine, on the south side of the road by the Ramleh tram line. On the east side of this building are some massive substructures of Ptolemaic masonry. Other constructions have lately been found on the west of the building. It is perhaps then in this region, the northwest part of the Government Hospital site and the adjoining British Consulate that we should now look for the theatre. In the erection of the Government Hospital radiological

department in the northwest corner of the site many parts of columns and marbles are said to have been discovered.

As already stated above during the excavations many interesting small objects and other finds came to light. The site was most prolific in pottery which was mainly of the Roman period. Only below the accumulation of the mound of débris was late Ptolemaic ware discovered, though naturally stray pieces appeared here and there. The bulk of the Roman pottery is coarse ware of a domestic or commercial type. Large wine or water jars predominate and other large coarse vessels for kitchen use. Finer wares are rarer. In the lower layers a certain amount of *terra sigillata* was found. This belongs mostly to the eastern types, the so-called Samian or Pergamene, but there are a few pieces which may actually be Arretine. Interesting are a number of fragments of mortaria with potters' stamps. These seem to divide into two classes, one of coarse red ware with stamps in Greek which is probably local and the other of pinkish pebbly clay with stamps in Latin which would seem to be imported. In the upper levels was found a considerable quantity of Late A and B ware. This bears decoration in relief of fish, animals and human figures, or else the usual stamped, slashed, or rouletted ornament. There are some pieces of ware similar to Late B ware with painted ornament which may be a transitional class between the Late A Ware and the painted, so-called Coptic ware, several fragments of which were also found. Egypt seems to have been almost certainly one of the countries where Late A and its kindred wares were made, though it may have been made also in North Africa, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. It has been found on sites in Upper Egypt, Antinoë, Abydos, Asswan and the clay appears to be akin to Upper Egyptian clay. A number of amphora handles with stamped inscriptions in Greek were found and these come from wine jars imported in Ptolemaic times from Rhodes, Cnidus, and Thasos. Many lamps mostly fragmentary were found, and some of these are of local fabric, but many are obviously imports. Many fragments of cut and carved animal bones were found. Some of the carved pieces are unfinished. They belong to a class of carved bones often found in Egypt which were made for the decoration of wooden caskets, jewel boxes, and the like. These are always called by archaeologists Alexandrian (5) but hitherto there has been no definite proof that such carved bones were made in Alexandria. Now the finding of partially cut bones, cores of bone from which slices have been cut, and other worked pieces of bone clearly the waste from workshops proves definitely that the cutting and carving of bones for decorative purposes was extensively practised in Alexandria. There are also many bone pins and in addition long unworked or partially worked strips of bone for making into pins which again prove that such pins were made in Alexandria. The finest carved bone is a knife handle with on each side a design of birds in a wavy scroll. One scene seems to depict the battle of the cranes and pigmies. This design resembles those which often occur on the tapestry woven textiles of Egypt of the third and fourth centuries A.D. There are many fragments of glass of good quality and many pieces of *lapis Lacedaemonius*, a green porphyry which was imported from Greece where it is found only at a site near Sparta. The quarries were worked in the Mycenaean Age, but not in the classical period. This porphyry, however, became popular in the Roman period and

was then exported freely to Italy and to the countries of the Near East. It was used for decorative work in floors and on walls. A fragment of wall painting found at this same site imitates *lapis Lacedaemonius*. It was apparently never imported into Egypt in Pharaonic times, but in the Roman period was freely used. An exceptional find is a bronze brooch or fibula with engraved ornament which was covered with gold leaf. Lastly must be mentioned the discovery of a number of ostraca or fragments of pottery bearing inscriptions incised in fine Greek characters. These have not yet been read, but appear to be of a religious character, perhaps dedications at a shrine.

From a study of the remains of the walls of Alexandria, now unfortunately almost completely destroyed and from the illustrations of them in the *Description de l'Egypte* it would appear that they were in all probability the Late Roman or Early Byzantine walls of the city. So far as can be told there is a distinct resemblance between them and the surviving part of the Roman fortress of Babylon now incorporated in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The walls of Alexandria, however, must have been often repaired and strengthened in the Islamic period and the latest changes would have been those of Mohammed Ali to whom perhaps the outworks were due.

1. See Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* 1900, p. 215 ff. and Botti, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 1, p. 56 ff.
2. For information about the forts of Alexandria I have to thank Colonel Abdel Rahman Zaki, Director of the Military Museum, Cairo, and M. Etienne Combe. See also Prince Omar Toussoun, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 34, p. 23 ff., no. 11.
3. Dutilh, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 7, fig. 10, p. 55 ff.
4. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, p. 90, fig. 35; Adriani, *Sculture Monumentali del Museo Greco-Romano di Alessandria*.
5. Strzygowski, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* No. 5, p. 3 ff.

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